Manufacturing cultural capital: Arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999)

by

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Abstract

This study examines the discursive role and positioning of arts journalism at *Die Burger* during a period of radical transformation in South African society. The study is conducted within a critical-cultural paradigm. Arts journalists are considered to be manufacturers of cultural capital, a term devised by Pierre Bourdieu as part of his comprehensive field theory framework. While Bourdieu uses cultural capital in the main to describe the role of education and culture in the maintenance of elite power hierarchies, this study investigates how the nature of cultural capital at *Die Burger* was affected by power shifts when competing elites jostled for dominance in a post-apartheid dispensation.

By drawing on Michel Foucault's theory of discourse, the focus of research further incorporates the discursive positioning of arts journalists in their coverage of arts and cultural events in the 1990s in relation to shifting configurations of power. The argument is that arts journalism at *Die Burger* can be situated within networks of power and thus contributed to the structuring of post-apartheid society. In the words of Antonio Gramsci, arts journalists became involved in hegemonic and counter-hegemonic struggles.

Flowing from these theoretical departure points, the study identifies critical discourse analysis (CDA) as an appropriate research method for textual analysis and adapts a five-phase model suggested by Teun van Dijk as part of his contextual CDA approach. The analysis thus focuses in turn on the context of discourse, discursive struggles between arts journalists and political journalists, strategies of classification used by arts journalists, emerging themes of discourse in arts journalism, and how the selection and presentation of arts journalism on news and arts pages were influenced by various factors, including the personal background and experiences of arts journalists (The concept of Bourdieu's "habitus"). To affect triangulation and enhance the textual analysis, the study also employs semi-structured in-depth interviews with arts journalists who were prominent at *Die Burger* in the 1990s.

The study found that arts journalists were at the intersection of different and often diverging and contradictory power-points in post-apartheid discourses at the newspaper. On the one hand, some arts journalists embraced a legacy of editorial independence at the arts desk and sometimes created oppositional discourses to the official political view of the newspaper: for instance on the issue of alleged "collective guilt" for Afrikaners and whether Naspers should

appear before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to explain its role in supporting the National Party (NP) during apartheid. On the other hand, many arts journalists shared the editor's apparent aversion to the international cultural boycott supported by the ANC and harboured some of the same skepticism about the so-called Africanisation of society and resultant attacks on Eurocentrism in the arts.

This study -- the first on this level to focus on Afrikaans arts journalism since 1994 -- represents a significant contribution to knowledge in the under-researched field of arts journalism in South Africa. Its purpose and process has furthermore developed theoretical and methodological innovations which can enrich the field of journalism studies.

Opsomming

Die studie -- vanuit ’n kritiese kulturele paradigma -- ondersoek die diskursiewe posisionering en rol van kunsjoernalistiek by *Die Burger* gedurende ’n periode van radikale transformasie in die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing. Kunsjoernaliste word beskryf as vervaardigers van kulturele kapitaal, soos gekonsepsualiseer deur Pierre Bourdieu in sy omvattende raamwerk van veld-teorie. Terwyl Bourdieu die term kulturele kapitaal hoofsaaklik gebruik om die rol van opvoeding en kultuur in die behoud van hierargieë van elite-mag te beskryf, ondersoek hierdie studie hoe die aard van kulturele kapitaal by *Die Burger* beïnvloed is deur magsverskuiwings waarin mededingende post-apartheid elite-groepe mekaar die stryd aangesê het.

Deur gebruik te maak van Michel Foucault se teorie van diskoers, val die fokus van navorsing dus op die diskursiewe posisionering van kunsjoernaliste in hul dekking van kuns-en-kultuur-gebeure in the 1990’s. Die argument is dat kunsjoernalistiek by *Die Burger* binne magsnetwerke geplaas kan word en bygedra het tot die strukturering van die post-apartheid samelewing. In Antonio Gramsci se terme het kunsjoernaliste dus betrokke geraak in die stryd om hegemonie te skep en teen te werk.

Uitvloeiend uit hierdie teoretiese vertrekpunte word kritiese diskoersanalise (KDA) as navorsingsmetode vir die ontleding van joernalistieke tekste geïdentifiseer. Daarvolgens word ’n model met vyf stappe, voorgestel deur Teun van Dijk as deel van sy KDA-benadering, aangepas vir gebruik. Die analise fokus dus om die beurt op die konteks van diskoers, die diskursiewe stryd tussen kunsjoernaliste en politieke joernaliste, strategieë van klassifikasie wat kunsjoernaliste gebruik het, temas van diskoers wat aan die lig gekom het in kunsjoernalistiek, en hoe die seleksie en aanbieding van kuns-en-kultuur-nuus deur verskillende faktore beïnvloed is, insluitend deur die persoonlike agtergrond en ondervinding van kunsjoernaliste (“habitus” in Bourdieu se teorie). Om triangulasie te bewerkstelling en die teks-analise te ondersteun, is semi-gestruktureerde in-diepte onderhoude met prominente kunsjoernaliste aangelê.

Die studie het vasgestel dat kunsjoernaliste in post-apartheid diskoerse in die koerant hulself op ’n kruispunt van verskillende, soms uiteenlopende en selfs opponerende strominge van mag bevind het. Aan die een kant het sommige kunsjoernaliste ’n tradisie van redaksionele onafhanklikheid omarm en soms opposisionele politieke diskoerse in vergelyking met die

amptelike beleid van die koerant geskep, byvoorbeeld oor die kwessie van beweerde "kollektiewe skuld" vir Afrikaners en of Naspers voor die Waarheid-en-Versoeningskommissie (WVK) moes verskyn om sy rol as ondersteuner van die Nasionale Party (NP) gedurende apartheid te verduidelik. Maar aan die ander kant het talle kunsjoernaliste die redakteur se klaarblyklike afkeer gedeel aan die internasionale kultuur-boikot wat deur die ANC ondersteun is. Kunsjoernaliste was ook skepties oor die sogenaamde Afrikanisering van die samelewing en gevolglike aanvalle op Eurosentriese kuns.

Ten slotte maak hierdie studie -- die eerste op hierdie vlak oor Afrikaanse kunsjoernalistiek sedert 1994 -- 'n belangrike bydrae tot die yl kennisveld van kunsjoernalistiek in Suid-Afrika. In die proses het die studie ook teoretiese en metodologiese innovasies aangebring wat die veld van joernalistiek-studies kan verryk.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 Motivation

I worked for the Western Cape Afrikaans newspaper *Die Burger* for roughly 15 years as a journalist in various capacities. When I started there in December 1988 as general reporter, I was seriously conflicted: on the one hand I had just tied the knot and was overjoyed to have found a job at a hallowed institution of Afrikaans journalism -- the oldest, biggest (and only) regional daily newspaper in the province. But, at the same time, the prospect of working for the notoriously conservative supporter of the National Party was troubling. Luckily, once inside the newsroom, I found that I was not alone in experiencing this dilemma.

Mostly among the younger generation of reporters and sub-editors -- and with the exception of those hand-picked to join the exclusive political desk -- there existed a rebellious spirit that found expression in various "subversive" actions that were considered to be against the "culture and ethos" of the company. These included campaigns for better pay and working conditions and changes in editorial policy (we wanted our own "by-lines" and not just a generic tag, e.g. "Hofverslaggewer" (Court Reporter). Although the scope for expressing personal opinions, especially for a general reporter, was severely limited, I noticed that there was one (non-political) editorial department at the newspaper that seemingly enjoyed much more freedom than the rest of us -- the arts desk.

Firstly, they already received their own "by-lines" -- even for a flimsy film review. And secondly, they were allowed to comment personally on socio-political and cultural issues and sometimes even express views that seemed to run against what was considered the official editorial position of *Die Burger*. I wanted to join immediately, but the queue was long. In those days arts journalism still had an aura of prestige, and I presented myself as a willing freelancer to pave the way. I succeeded, and in 1992 I joined the arts desk full-time, eventually writing on and reviewing music, theatre, films, food, and books. Finally the "freedom" was mine also -- and the benefits -- but I learned that there is much truth in the old saying: "there is nothing such as a free lunch!".

By the time I finally left *Die Burger* in 2006, I was the arts editor and well versed in not only the joys, but also the responsibilities, limitations, and frustrations of arts journalism. At that stage already, I agreed whole-heartedly with commentators who said that journalism, and specifically arts journalism, was in a state of "crisis" for a number of reasons -- including too much attention to the bottom line and so-called celebrity culture. As journalists, we furiously debated most of these issues at the time, but it was only when I joined the academy and became familiar with media studies literature that I started to consider the greater consequences of what I had heard, seen, and experienced. I was there when history was made, yes, but so involved in the day-to-day production cycle that the passing years had become a blur (with a by-line!). What really happened?

Thus, my personal experience as an editorial staff member on the arts and culture desk of *Die Burger* at the time contributed to my motivation to embark on this study. But clearly my particular position also provided opportunities and challenges in both the design and execution of the study. Besides first-hand knowledge of the field, I enjoyed a high level of access to and trust from former and current editorial staff members of *Die Burger*. At the same time my independence as researcher came into question. How much of a distance could or should I therefore have established between the research subject and the object of research in this study? Should I have opted for a decidedly auto-ethnographic approach, or rather adopted a more detached position -- in the full knowledge that objectivity is not possible?

In the end, through various deliberate theoretical and methodological choices, I tried to establish a balance between the practical knowledge of the insider and the expert knowledge of the social scientist. These issues will be addressed in detail in the discussion of the theoretical framework (Chapter 2) and methodology (Chapter 4) of this study.

1.1.2 Research problem

South Africa's "miracle" transition (Sparks, 2003) did not occur overnight. Change, in fact, occurred over decades and in many ways the transition is still incomplete, but the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990 indicated a paradigm shift that profoundly affected the South African society on different levels for the rest of the decade. In this study these developments will be highlighted in so far as they relate to events in the media sector at the same time. A specific focus will fall on arts journalism as a field of journalism practice within this changing sector.

As Murphy (2007) indicates, the media played a significant role in the process of democratisation in many African countries in the 1990s:

> Indeed, it is through the media that public discourses about the scope and nature of democracy are circulated, even -- or perhaps, especially -- in fledgling democracies (2007:2).

In turn, democratisation led to media transformation on different levels. In the case of South Africa, both public and private broadcasting and the private print media sectors repositioned themselves and were restructured due to political, economic, cultural, and social pressures (see Hadland, 2007; Harber, 2004: 79-87; Jacobs, 2003; Teer-Tomaselli, 2004 & 2001; Tomaselli, 2004 & 2000). These developments took place in the context of a national project to radically transform a racially segregated authoritarian state into an inclusive, non-racial, non-sexist, multi-cultural, multi-lingual democracy ruled by its black African majority. (Changes in the media industry in the 1990s will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.)

Change also swept the Western Cape daily Afrikaans newspaper *Die Burger* in the 1990s. The relationship between *Die Burger* and its long-standing political ally, the National Party (NP), was affected and *Die Burger* aligned itself to the 1996 Constitution. At Nasionale Pers (now Naspers), owner of *Die Burger*, party political partisanship was finally replaced by economic considerations (see Froneman, 2004; Vosloo, 2010; United World website, 2003). Especially after 1994, *Die Burger*, although still strongly pro-Afrikaans (see Louw, 2003), officially distanced itself from its racist and chauvinist past and declared changed policies and practices to incorporate both its marginalised so-called coloured readers and to include a focus on other communities in the multicultural and multilingual new South Africa (Rossouw, 2005).

In line with international trends (see Postman, 1986; Underwood, 1993) commercial pressures were extended to focus on areas of journalism that were previously considered protected by the so-called “Chinese Wall” (Louw, 2009:118) between the editorial staff and advertising and marketing departments, such as arts and culture coverage (Botma, 2006a). Arts journalists were, for instance, involved in promoting cultural happenings in previously marginalised black and coloured reader communities in order to build trust and circulation (*ibid*.).

For arts journalists bottom-line pressure was made most apparent when *Die Burger* and Naspers positioned themselves as major organisers and sponsors of national and regional (and even international) Afrikaans cultural festivals (*ibid.*). As Botma (2006a) indicates, management thus expected arts journalists at *Die Burger* to promote and cover these sponsored events. According to company chairman Ton Vosloo, Naspers deliberately became a festival promoter in response to the perceived threat to the status of Afrikaans in a new political dispensation (Vosloo, 2010). He argues that white Afrikaners were depressed and anxious by the lost of political power and needed support to regain a sense of hope and pride (Vosloo, 2010).

After 1994, the language, along with (white) Afrikaner culture in general, lost its position of power and status because of its close association with Afrikaner nationalism. In fact, Afrikaner culture was stigmatised because of its apartheid history (Hugo & Bezuidenhout, 2009; Giliomee, 2004). At the same time, it would seem that Afrikaner interests such as Naspers were poised to reap economic benefits from other opportunities created by post-apartheid shifts. It is thus fair to argue that in this way Naspers, which had already established profit-making concerns by selling predominantly Afrikaans cultural products during apartheid, contributed further to the commercialisation of Afrikaans cultural life and products in the 1990s.

But, at the same time, it must be recognised that *Die Burger* and Afrikaans did not find themselves in a totally unique position as far as the commercialisation of the South African public cultural domain in the 1990s was concerned. According to a so-called base-line study of South African arts journalism by the Media Monitoring Project (MMP) in 2006, the most general complaint of post-apartheid arts journalists was that they were expected to justify their existence in economic terms (MMP, 2006). This changing sense of journalistic responsibility clashed with some arts journalists' sense of professional duty to the public at large and often led to disagreement with management, senior editors, and colleagues in advertising and promotions departments (MMP, 2006). Arts journalists were also challenged from different quarters to broaden the traditional focus of coverage on what was considered a Eurocentric cultural heritage by the inclusion of perceived indigenous African art forms and artists. This led to dispersed views and lack of solidarity on both the side of authorities and arts journalists (MMP, 2006).

In contrast, during apartheid the liberation movements, sympathetic artists, and arts journalists were in agreement that the arts should be considered a "tool for the struggle" (Snapper, 2008:12). Botha (1995:166) states that the tension between the black majority and the apartheid government found expression in "Afrocentric art", including "political protest theatre". MMP (2006) confirms the view that the arts became a vehicle for the expression of political opposition because apartheid laws outlawed most other avenues of expression to many black South Africans. Some arts journalists at newspapers with an anti-apartheid positioning therefore also played the role of political activists before 1990 by expressing oppositional views in their coverage and/or making their editorial space available for others to do so (MMP, 2006). Even at *Die Burger* -- an outspoken and loyal supporter of the ruling NP during apartheid -- a measure of editorial independence allowed at least some arts journalists to express political views in their coverage that differed from the official party political position (see discussion in 1.1.2). It therefore becomes clear that, according to some arts journalists at least, important shifts occurred in arts journalism in the interim period (1990-1999) when democracy was established.

As stated above, this researcher personally experienced this period at *Die Burger.* The key moment as far as personal experience is concerned was the controversy surrounding *Die Burge*r's coverage of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) -- set up in 1996 to investigate apartheid-era atrocities. Serious conflict arose between management and about a hundred staff members when Naspers declined to testify before the commission about its role during apartheid. I was among the protesters, and so were two other arts journalists of *Die Burger,* Herman Wasserman and Cobus van Bosch[i], who clashed with the editor on the issue (see Baard, 2007; Van Deventer, 1998). This experience made evident the political positioning of *Die Burger* as well as the position of arts journalism *vis-à-vis* the paper. Traditional views of the role of arts journalism in society thus had to be questioned.

Ideas that had to be reconsidered for the purposes of this study included: arts journalists were merely reflecting society; arts, culture and entertainment were marginal concerns in political and economic power struggles; and that arts journalism had no bearing on the outcomes of these struggles. A preliminary study of critical literature expressing views such as that conscious reality was constructed through language (Levi-Strauss, 2001 [1978]); Foucault, 2003, 2002, [1970], 1990, 1972); that culture was central in the hegemonic struggle between the powerful and the marginalised in society (Bourdieu, 1984; Levine, 2007); and that

journalism -- including arts journalism -- was part of that struggle (Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007: 619-639; Marlière, 2000:199-211; Duncan, 2003; Harber, 2002; Berger, 2000:81-99), motivated and informed this study.

This line of inquiry led to a critical (re)evaluation of arts journalism itself, particularly during a period when change affected the whole of South African society -- journalism and the media included. But this study aims to focus more specifically on the role arts journalism at *Die Burger* played during the period of transition in the 1990s. How did arts journalists react to the changes in society through their coverage? How did the changes in society impact on arts journalism at *Die Burger*? Did arts journalists at *Die Burger* contribute in any way to the nature of the changes that affected society? These and other related questions motivated this study and provided a basis for the conceptualisation of the research problem.

1.1.3 Background

Before turning to the specific research focus (arts journalism at *Die Burger* in the 1990s), a short historic overview is needed to contextualise this study. *Die Burger* was founded in 1915 to support the economic, political, and cultural empowerment of white Afrikaners after the devastation of the South African War (1899-1902). The newspaper became the official mouthpiece of various incarnations of the NP, most notably in the period 1948-1994 when South Africa was ruled by white Afrikaners (Giliomee, 2004). *Die Burger* actively supported the NP in its implementation of the policy of apartheid. Although some clear examples exist of differences of opinion between the NP and *Die Burger*, criticism was always moderated by the fact that their relationship was one of mutual trust and respect (see Muller, 1990; Beukes, 1992; Steyn, 2002). This spirit of collaboration meant that editors and political journalists of *Die Burger* had an inside track to the inner workings of government. But this came at a price: senior government officials were arguably granted a measure of influence over the operations of *Die Burger* and Naspers -- for instance as directors on the board of the company.

In contrast to *Die Burger's* political desk during apartheid, arts journalists at the paper established a reputation of relative independence from the official political, economic and cultural direction of its editors and managers and from the ruling political and cultural establishment. During apartheid, members of the arts page of *Die Burger* arguably contributed to discourses that challenged some of the dominant ideas of both conservative readers and

some leaders within the NP. Examples include the relatively liberal (in the context of the time) pronouncements by the arts editors Victor Holloway and Kerneels Breytenbach in opinion pieces and reviews.

Breytenbach, for instance, appeared to spread himself deliberately across perceived artistic and social boundaries. A good example is when Breytenbach commented favourably on a concert by black African music star Sipho "Hot Stix" Mabuse in the Baxter Concert Hall in Cape Town in 1986 (DB, 1986/12/06:16). Referring approvingly to the so-called multi-racial composition of the audience, and especially how the enthusiastic reception of some dancing members of the audience contributed to an enjoyable experience, Breytenbach stated (*ibid.*):

> It was the type of audience which would have made my parents in Naboomspruit wonder what was happening to the world. Mabuse's music speaks to all population groups, and they were well represented in the audience…it was a revelation…the more people showing their faces in the theatre the better. (Own translation from Afrikaans)

Both Holloway and Breytenbach selected and prominently presented articles that appeared to promote -- or at least added to the cultural legitimisation -- of oppositional traditions. In the 1980s the arts page, for example, published articles by the out-spoken (so-called coloured) academic and writer Richard Reeve, in one case on black protest poetry that challenged Afrikaner rule (see DB, 1981/05/28:4).

During the 1970s arts journalists also became involved in criticism of the controversial whites-only admission policy of the new Nico Malan theatre in Cape Town. Debates around the opening of the theatre centre to so-called non-whites in 1975 clearly illustrated the close connection and resulting overlaps that sometimes existed between hegemonic struggles in the political and cultural fields respectively during apartheid (see DB, 1975/02/01:6; DB, 1975/02/19:16; DB, 1975/02/21:1; DB, 1975/02/21:14). When the centre was inaugurated in 1971 it was pronounced a "whites-only" facility, but by the mid-1970s the NP seemingly could no longer ignore the growing condemnation of this state of affairs from even within its own support base (see DB, 1998/11/06:11).Voices in favour of lifting the colour bar included editorial staff members from *Die Burger*, among them the editor, Piet Cillié and the arts editor, Holloway. Cillié's comments were framed by a discourse of total loyalty to and

support for the “wise men” of the NP (DB, 1975/02/19:16),while Holloway declared that “it was high time” and that “the Cape was long-used” to inter-racial theatre gatherings (DB, 1975/02/01:6).

On the one hand, these and other clear differences in content and tone can be interpreted as an indication that the arts editor displayed a stronger and clearer opposition to the NP than the editor. But both commentators appeared to share the view that (Western) arts and culture and politics were two distinctly separate spheres of interest. Interestingly enough, with hindsight some of these and others commentators admitted to a change of heart in this regard: they now described the scrapping of the colour bar at the Nico Malan theatre as one of the key steps in the dismantling of the political system of apartheid (see DB, 1998/11/06:11; DB, 1990/06/12:8).

The contested perception of the relatively oppositional role of some arts journalists at *Die Burger* under apartheid therefore relies on the evidence of the seemingly uncoordinated publication of more progressive views (in comparison to official NP policy) as part of the newspaper’s routine coverage of arts and culture events (see also Muller, 1990; Beukes, 1992; Beukes & Steyn, 1992; Breytenbach, 1989; Botma, 2007, 1997). Arts journalists at *Die Burger* clearly did not constitute a homogeneous pressure group in relation to political, economic or cultural issues. The tendency of relative opposition at *Die Burger*, which was arguably most apparent when the newspaper was still the official mouthpiece of the NP during the apartheid regime, thus did not manifest itself through the political action of a group of unified agents and/or any effort to create an explicit and coherent political discourse.

But the presence of relatively progressive views within the broader context of a politically subservient newspaper raises questions about the role of arts journalists at *Die Burger* in challenging the hegemony of apartheid and creating awareness among their readers of alternative discourses. It remains an open question whether arts journalists in fact thus contributed to the process of democratisation, or were part of a strategy of maintaining apartheid hegemony. The strategy of incorporating dissent to uphold hegemony has been noted by Mosco (1996) with reference to the work of the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci (1996 (1975]). According to this view, arts journalists at *Die Burger* -- perhaps because of their perceived relative marginalised position in the newspaper’s political economy -- were

tolerated and allowed some space to criticise and, paradoxically, to legitimise the exclusivity of the Afrikaner nationalist and apartheid discourse.

Whatever the case, arts journalists were creating "cultural capital" in the process -- in the words of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984) -- for themselves and the newspaper. In other words, arts journalists may have been respected and valued by the public and other journalists for their perceived journalistic independence and integrity -- maybe even more so because it occurred within what was well-known as a conservative milieu. At the same time the newspaper (and its editor) may also have gained cultural capital for publishing quality arts journalism, which allowed a measure of dissent. Thirdly, the content itself, whether challenging apartheid hegemony and/or otherwise, may be considered cultural capital in that it most probably informed and educated (some) readers of *Die Burger* about artistic and cultural distinctions -- including tastes and values about for example "high" art -- thereby contributing to the distribution of (cultural) power.

Although the aim of this study is not to describe the positioning of arts journalists during apartheid, this historic overview establishes the backdrop against which arts journalism at *Die Burger* in the period of transition from apartheid to democracy can be analysed and described. As a general point of departure it may be accepted that arts journalists at *Die Burger* in the period 1990-1999 were also creating cultural capital as part of hegemonic struggles in the newspaper over the formulation of new "principles of visions and divisions" (Bourdieu, 1998a:8) in post-apartheid society. This description of the role of arts journalists conforms to the French philosopher Michel Foucault's (2003) idea of the individual as "power-point at which multiple power-relationships intersect (...) and that even where we appear to be subjected, we have a local power of resistance" (Bannet, 1989:169). Furthermore, it can be assumed that an analysis of the content that arts journalists produced in that period may bring to light how discourses may have jostled for dominance -- that as the social formations shifted, so did the discourses of arts journalism in relation to society. By studying the content of arts journalism at *Die Burger* with reference to amongst others, Bourdieu's (1984) concept of cultural capital and Foucault's (2002 [1970], 1972) concept of discourse, it would arguably become clearer how arts journalists contributed to changing discourses in a period of power transition (1990-1999). In addition, power relations around arts journalism at the newspaper may also become visible.

1.1.4 Arts journalism, culture, and news values: Working definitions

Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen (2007:622) describe arts journalists as journalists "who shape and construct media texts relating to the arts". The perceived positive contribution of arts journalism relates to the fact that the mass media are the primary forum for a large part of the population to learn about, listen to and/or watch the arts (*ibid.*). From a similarly functionalist perspective (seeing journalism as contributing to social education and cohesion) Botha (1995:8) defines arts journalism as a "specialised field of arts criticism, as well as a source of entertainment, reference and information with regard to the popular and serious arts". The views of both these scholars are accepted as a first-level description of arts journalism.

Scott (1999) agrees that arts journalists fulfil cardinal functional roles, but he adds a perspective more closely aligned with the critical-cultural theoretical positioning of this study. Scott (1999:47) identifies culture (not news) as the "knowledge producing...sense making sphere" with the ability to "change lives". This notion is explored and augmented in this study by referring to Foucault's (1990, 1972) view of discourse as a structuring intersection of power and knowledge. The study will argue that arts journalism is a source of knowledge/power that is distributed unequally in society.

In this study culture is seen in the broadest terms as the "study of relationships between elements in a whole way of life", as defined by Raymond Williams (2004 [1965]:334). Culture in this definition therefore does not focus exclusively on "notions of art, style and more widely the visual" (Edwards, 2007:1), but will include the contexts in which individuals and groups construct and make sense of their material and symbolic surroundings. In the first place, then, culture is seen as the broad focal area of arts journalism. Secondly, culture will also refer to the context in which arts journalists produce their published content.

Scott (1999:47) refers to the role of arts journalists as "cultural gatekeepers". In their gate-keeping role art journalists have the power to allow or disallow a cultural product public exposure. It is the measure of exposure, rather than any judgment offered about it, which determines the road ahead for a particular cultural product, according to Scott (1999:47). Although this study does not accept the notion that regulating exposure *rather* than producing meaning through content is the key role of arts journalists, the concept of cultural gatekeepers is valuable. Bourdieu's concept of habitus -- individual socialisation and education at home

and school -- will for example be employed to investigate a possible link between the personal trajectory of arts journalists and their professional positioning as cultural gatekeepers.

Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen (2007:620) return the focus to content by arguing that arts journalism is "the project of improving public appreciation of the arts". In this study the products of the project they refer to is included in the Bourdieuan concept of cultural capital, a form of (cultural) power linked to skills, knowledge, and artifacts. The process of creating and circulation the principles of visions and divisions mentioned above can be referred to as creating "distinctions" (Bourdieu, 1984) .

In a footnote to his article, Wasserman (2004:141) states that the "principles and guidelines informing arts news reporting -- that is news selection, framing, emphasis etc. -- are related to those informing evaluative reviews, and is therefore included in the term arts journalism...". In this study, arts journalism similarly refers to a broad range of activities and genres in which arts journalists are involved in their daily practice. As Wasserman (2004) points out, the distinction that Titchener (2005) thus draws between arts reporters, reviewers, and critics is therefore not applicable to the South African situation in which the same journalist may be involved in two or even all three of these functions/roles/genres on a regular basis.

In sum then: "arts journalism" in this study refers to the editorial selection and coverage of arts, culture and entertainment events, and issues in the newspaper and its supplements, provided by members of the arts and culture desk (including freelancers). The study focuses on arts desk coverage which appeared both on clearly designated pages for arts, culture and entertainment and in other sections of the newspaper. The term "arts journalism" therefore includes news reports, previews, reviews, interviews, opinions, editorials, photographs with identifying captions, and op-ed articles on issues relating to artistic and/or cultural publication, production, reproduction, and performance.

In terms of journalism practice, this study also refers to the concept of "news values" as described by Galtung & Ruge and interpreted by Harcup & O'Neil (2001). Galtung and Ruge, focus *inter alia* on newspapers and proposed a list of factors that contribute to the construction of news (*ibid.*). The argument is that the likelihood of an event to be selected and presented as news increases in relation to the number of these factors present (*ibid.*). For example, conflict ("negativity") is often selected, as well as events regarding people

("personalisation"), especially "reference to elite persons". In the same vein "reference to elite nations" is often selected as news. But newspapers also tend to select the bulk of their news in their own geographical area (proximity) while "timeliness" is an added factor for the selection of "hard news" (Tuchman, 1978).

Harcup & O' Neill (2001:276) argue that their findings point to the fact that "despite the way it has been so widely cited, Galtung and Ruge's taxonomy of news factors appears to ignore the majority of news stories". Still, Harcup & O' Neill (2001) end up producing a list of "contemporary" news values with clear overlaps of the original Galtung and Ruge model. For instance, the following news values in Harcup & O' Neill's (2001) list arguably still correspond more or less with that of Galtung & Ruge: "the power elite", "celebrity", "surprise", "bad news", "magnitude", "relevance", "follow-up" and "newspaper agenda". But, importantly for this study, Harcup & O' Neill (2001) do contribute something to the list of news values: "good news" and "entertainment".

The addition of "good news" and "entertainment" is very useful in a study of arts journalism, because much of arts and culture coverage -- such as previews, reviews, interviews and columns -- can be regarded as "soft news" (Tuchman, 1978). But, as thus study will show, arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) were also regularly involved in the selection and presentation of "hard news" for both arts and culture pages, supplements, and the regular news pages in the main body of the newspaper. Thus, Harcup & O' Neill's (2001) more nuanced and inclusive description of news values is accepted in this study, as well as the suggestion that the "...Galtung and Ruge list... should be regarded as open to question rather than recited as if written on a tablet of stone" (p. 277). In other words, the list of news values can and must be interpreted and adapted according to a particular context, as this study aims to do in Chapter 5.

1.2 Focus

The positioning and role of arts journalists at *Die Burger* become pressing when considering their work more than a decade into the new political dispensation. Some of the key findings of a study by the MMP (2006) on the state of arts journalism in South Africa were that arts journalists in general complained that their work lacked purpose and has been dominated by commercial concerns and pressures since the demise of apartheid.

According to some respondents quoted in the MMP report, (some) arts journalists (at some media institutions) were part of the struggle against apartheid because of the mobilisation of arts and culture when legitimate political expression was suppressed by the government in many ways (2006:36). The study (which included a few Afrikaans newspapers) somewhat ironically concluded that the perceived diminished position of Afrikaans in the new dispensation since 1994 might have slowed down the decline of arts journalism in the Afrikaans media because the preservation of Afrikaans could still be considered a cause to fight for.

However, more comprehensive and detailed research aimed at arts journalism at *Die Burger* specifically (see Botma, 2006a) shows that after 10 years of democracy Afrikaans arts journalists were in fact experiencing a number of serious challenges. That study indicated that international political economic media tendencies such as commodification linked to globalisation and conglomeration (Mosco, 1996) influenced the changing role of arts journalism at *Die Burger.* The commodification of arts journalism at *Die Burger* took the form of a number of shifts. Firstly a shift occurred from so-called high art to popular culture, including a greater emphasis on entertainment, accelerated by the added competition posed by the phenomenal rise of tabloid newspapers since around 2000. Secondly arts journalists, who previously worked relatively independently within the newsroom structure, were involved into the coverage of company sponsored cultural festivals and its brand promotion and circulation building projects (often aimed at the so-called coloured readership, by 2005 more than 50 percent of the total).

In sum: Afrikaans arts journalists at *Die Burger* may therefore be in a similar position -- a "crisis" according to the MMP-study -- as their English counter-parts after more than a decade of democracy. In contrast, and echoing many respondents in the MMP (2006) study, the last few decades of apartheid were often nostalgically regarded as some sort of Golden Age for arts journalism at *Die Burger* (see Steyn, 1990). Arts journalists apparently felt valued. They had status and influence inside and outside the media; shielded from crude economic considerations they had space, time and resources to cover their particular choice of arts and culture on their own terms; and, last but not least, they had a clear cause (be it to fight or promote) in apartheid ideology (MMP, 2006).

The central question thus arises: What happened in the interim -- between the Golden Age and the crisis? In order to describe the transformation of arts journalism at *Die Burger* in the 1990s, this study aims to apply aspects and concepts from the field theory of Bourdieu (1984, 1989) such as cultural capital, field, and habitus. Aspects of Foucault's (2003, 1972) discussion on the role of discourses in creating structures and institutions of power, and Gramsci's (1996 [1975]) theorising on hegemony as a tool of maintaining power without overt repression, will also be employed as analytical tools in the theoretical framework.

1.3 Preliminary study

A preliminary database search on the internet, including the NRF-Nexus, Google and Google Scholar search engines as well as the catalogue of the J.S. Gericke library of Stellenbosch University, indicates that Bourdieu's (1984;1989) field theory has not been applied to an in-depth analysis of arts journalism at a particular Afrikaans-language newspaper before (see discussion 3.1 below). The inter-disciplinary application of Bourdieu's sociological work has gained international momentum in recent years (see Lane, 2000:2). To add to this, and as *inter alia* Marlière (2000:199-211) and Benson & Neveu (2005:19) indicate, the validity of Bourdieu's often controversial theories in the field of journalism have been under-researched, and the debate about his legacy in this particular field is thus still wide open. Neveu (2005: 209) states:

> Bourdieu did not formalize a complete sociology of the 'journalistic field' or its 'structure and genesis'….The fact that this sociology of journalism remained at the stage of working sketches rather than a treatise prevents no one from productively applying field theory to the media. The conception of sociology developed by Bourdieu consists in providing theoretical tools for productive work, not in annexing research objects to the master's property.

This study builds on the work -- a comprehensive overview and application (with some modifications) of the critical political economy of communication -- that this candidate undertook as part of his MPhil dissertation (Botma, 2006a) and subsequently published (Botma, 2011; Wasserman & Botma, 2008; Botma, 2006b). That particular research project positioned arts journalism at *Die Burger* within the political economic context of its owner, Naspers, and its publisher, Media24. That study provided the platform for a review of the

field of the critical political economy of communication -- inter alia through the work of Bennetts (2004), Berger (2004, 2000); Croteau & Hoynes (2003, 2001); Curran (2005, 2002); Duncan (2003); Mosco (1996); Teer-Tomaselli (2001); DB, 1997/10/08:4 Tomaselli (2000); and Webster (1995) -- which will be further extended to applicable areas of this study. The critical political economy of communication also provides a strong link to Bourdieu's field theory because both have roots in critical theory.

But although Bourdieu's field theory could be broadly situated within a critical paradigm, Bourdieu extended Marxist theory by also incorporating aspects from the work of *inter alia* Weber and Durkheim in sociology and Saussurean linguistics (Benson & Neveu, 2005:2-3). Through the combination of differentiation theory -- the description of how society increasingly becomes structurally more diversified and complex -- with an emphasis on the importance of relations in social life, Bourdieu was arguably able to move away from the Marxist tendency to economic determinism. Bourdieu thus describes both structure and agency in society, in terms of their role, context and relation, and as part of fields of semi-autonomous and increasingly specialised spheres of action and power.

Because of his (partial) focus on agency (especially cultural consumption) aspects of Bourdieu's work have been incorporated into cultural studies (this is somewhat ironic, given Bourdieu's dismissive criticism of cultural studies -- see the discussion in Chapter 2).

1.4 Field theory

Field theory developed along a trajectory that can, according to Benson & Neveu (2005:2-3), be traced back to some of the founding fathers of sociology -- Durkheim and Weber. Bourdieu thus portrays modernity as a "process of differentiation into semiautonomous and increasingly specialized spheres of action (that is fields of politics, economics, religion, cultural production)" (*ibid.*). According to Benson & Neveu (2005:3):

> Both within and among these spheres -- or fields -- relations of power fundamentally structure human action. Individuals do not simply act to maximize their rational self-interest. For Bourdieu, the sources of competition go much deeper, via his extension of Saussurean linguistics to the social sphere.

Bourdieu (2005:30) defines field as: "a field of forces within which the agents occupy positions that statistically determine the positions they take with respect to the field, these position-takings being aimed either at conserving or transforming the structure of relations of forces that is constitutive of the field". The concept of field "is a research tool, the main function of which is to enable the scientific construction of social objects" and it is "comparable to a field of physical forces; but it is not reducible to a physical field..." (*ibid.*) Weininger (2008:96-97) refers to the image of a battlefield or a playing field to describe the concept, and mentions that "individuals who confront one another will enter into conflicts or competition with one another, each from a more or less advantageous position".

According to Benson and Neveu's interpretation (2005:4) of Bourdieu's field theory in relation to journalism, each field, such as journalism, is structured around the opposition between a heteronymous pole representing forces external to the field (primarily economic) and the autonomous pole representing the specific capital unique to that field (e.g., reporting skills and "scoops"). Power and influence in society are concentrated around those competing players who succeed in accumulating more capital than their opponents. Although capital may be "field-specific" -- dominance in one field, such as politics, does not guarantee power in another, such as journalism -- fields are interrelated. Schudson (2005:215) views the concept of field as an effort to "put forward a vocabulary and framework for understanding how different realms of social life are related to one other but are also distinct from one another, each field having some measure of autonomy from the others and therefore needing to be understood to some degree in its own terms".

Field theory (or otherwise, 'the concept of "field"') is useful to this study because it enables a description of not only a situation where journalists are competing with other actors outside their field (such as politicians and arts administrators) but also within the field against each other. This may entail arts journalists at different institutions who are competing on a number of levels (for readers, a "scoop"), but also members at the same institution (for instance arts journalists and political journalists) who may be at odds over particular issues (as seems to have been the case at *Die Burger* during apartheid). Bourdieu's field theory thus allows for an analysis of "sub-fields" of journalism (see Benson and Neveu, 2005), such as arts journalism.

1.5 Problem statement

The positioning and role of arts journalists at *Die Burger* during the eventful 1990s in South Africa are at issue in order to establish how changes in society impacted on arts journalism and how arts journalists contributed to shifting political and cultural discourses in their arts coverage. In the process, power relations both structured by and structuring arts journalism can arguably be described in detail.

This project is important for a number of reasons. In general, there is evidence that arts journalism in post-apartheid South Africa is in "crisis" (see MMP, 2006; Botma, 2008a). A study of the transformation of arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) might give indications of the genesis and development of the crisis. The argument is that during periods of change fault lines in society will be more visible.

This study of arts journalism can be justified on political and cultural grounds. Firstly, a description of the positioning of Afrikaans arts journalists in the 1990s might produce valuable insights into the place and role of arts journalism in the field of journalism (for example *vis-à-vis* political journalism). Against the backdrop of indications (see 1.1.2) that arts journalists at *Die Burger* during apartheid might have contributed to oppositional discourses in relation to the paper's official political views, the question arises where arts journalists during the 1990s positioned themselves when those official views started to change. How did arts journalists, in relation to the official editorial view of *Die Burger* (1990-1999), contribute to changing political discourses in society? Were they contributing to counter-hegemonic discourses in relation to the official editorial viewpoint, and/or was their political role one of building consensus? The third alternative is that they were largely positioned as "de-politicised" -- as was claimed above in relation to the "crisis" particularly during the post-apartheid English media. In other words, was arts journalism at *Die Burger* purely entertainment, or did it have a political function as well?

Secondly, the cultural role of arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) is at issue because of its perceived role to build, maintain and/or challenge distinctions based on values and tastes. Did arts journalism during the transitional period continue to contribute to the creation of hierarchies in society -- for instance by drawing traditional distinctions between elite and popular art? The issue is complicated by the fact that during apartheid "elite" art at *Die Burger* implied an imported Western cultural heritage. The related question is therefore what impact the revalidation of indigenous traditions in the 1990s had on arts journalism at *Die*

Burger? In addition this study will address the question whether a theoretical distinction between Western/imported and African/indigenous is valid in the first place, in light of the growing consensus of the characteristic hybridity of post-colonial African arts and culture (see Said, 1994; Appiah, 1993; Coplan, 2008; Barber, 1997).

1.6 Theoretical points of departure and research questions

Foucault's "notion of knowledge as being constituted by active human practice (within human-made agencies)", as described by Louw (2001:10–11), will contribute to the theoretical framework of this study. According to Louw (2001:33), Foucault "offers a means of conceptualizing how discourse is a potentially powerful hegemonic tool for social control, because discursive formations have the power to exclude from discussion certain questions or issues". By the same token, discursive formations then also have the power to include certain questions or issues, thus creating an opportunity for a discourse analysis of arts and culture journalism at *Die Burger* to uncover hidden patterns and structures of hegemonic struggle.

But Marris & Thornham (2002:520) point to the influence of Bourdieu's work in shifting emphasis away from the text-reader relationship and towards the broader context(s) of consumption (and thus, by implication, eventually also to [media] production). In line with this argument, key concepts from the Bourdieu (1984; 1989) totalising field theory -- which arguably provides a stronger conception of the context of production and consumption -- are therefore centrally important as theoretical points of departure in this study. The concept of cultural capital seems useful to describe the role of arts journalism in sustaining and/or challenging the established class structure (and thus the division of especially cultural power) in society (more about this below and in Chapter 2).

A field consists of "a set of objective, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital)" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:16). This means that arts journalism at *Die Burger* can theoretically also be seen as such a field and situated in relation to the various specific political, economic, and cultural forces in its political economy. The fact that the "central element of the logic of practice in Bourdieu's sense is agents' engagement with the objective structures of the modern world", as stated by Fowler (2000:1), makes field theory an ideal theoretical tool for any analysis that tries to combine structure (for example, editorial hierarchy, tradition, and policy) and agency (for example journalistic

independence and personal history) in the examination of tension (for example, between "high" and "popular" art) and transition in a particular field.

Bourdieu included agency in his description of fields through the concept of habitus. This notion of habitus, according to Benson & Neveu (2005:3), is fundamental to Bourdieu's understanding of structure and agency -- the ways in which society shapes individual actions (and *vice versa*). Habitus, which is, according to Harker, Mahar, & Wilkes (1990:12), intimately linked to capital "in fact constitutes a form of capital (symbolic) in and of themselves". According to them, any explanations of attitudes, discourses, behaviour, etc., must draw on an analysis of both structural position (within the field, the field's position *vis-à-vis* other fields, etc.) and the particular historical trajectory by which an agent arrived at that position (habitus).

These descriptions of field and habitus are comparable to what Louw (2001) calls Foucault's notion that "communication is the outcome of human practices that are struggled over" (p. 11) and Bannet's (1989:164) reference to Foucault's description of man's "cultural collective unconscious" and the "unconscious of knowledge", also called episteme, which characterises and (in)forms an age (Macey, 2004:73). According to this argument, both Bourdieu and Foucault agree that there may be communicative structures which set boundaries or parameters, but these do not predetermine human action.

It follows that where Foucault's theory on discourse provides a valuable tool to analyse the content of arts journalism, the field theory of Bourdieu enables the thorough description of the production context. However, as will be discussed in Chapter 2, the concept of power of both are often criticised as dispersed and decentred.

Louw (2001) indicates that Gramsci's theory of hegemony fits into a critical Foucauldian discourse theory. In this study Gramsci's notion that power in society is often expressed covertly (and not overtly) through consensus as the result of symbolic struggles between different interest groups will contribute to the theoretical framework. "The Gramscian or Foucauldian positions have the advantage of allowing for both human agency and structural limitations within the process of a context-embedded meaning-production", remarks Louw (2001:11).

Following Bourdieu, arts journalists at *Die Burger*, (some of) the holders/producers of cultural capital in society, can firstly be viewed as "anchors of the dominated faction within the dominant class" (Wacquant, 2000:116). This means that arts journalists are dominated in terms of their class position (the intersection of economic and cultural capital) but that they have the ability to influence power struggles between members of the dominant class.

Important questions arise, however, which could, ultimately, lead to a reassessment of aspects of Bourdieu's theory as they relate to the connection between elite art and power. These include whether Bourdieu's (1984; 1989) positioning of cultural capital as a tool to power excludes a connection to popular art and where the tension between so-called indigenous African arts and culture and other so-called imported traditions fits into the elite-versus-popular-debate. As mentioned above, Bourdieu tends to view cultural capital as an instrument of establishing and maintaining elite power through the promotion of elite art. This conventional view is problematic for a number of reasons.

In the first instance, a fixed link between cultural capital and elite power excludes the (potential) role of arts journalism to create oppositional discourses, as seems to have been the case at *Die Burger* under apartheid. Secondly, a limited, conventional view of cultural capital fails to account for the South African context in which a transition of power since the early 1990s created different elites with often competing ideas about the role and nature of art (high and/or popular) and culture (indigenous and/or imported) in building or challenging hegemony. Thirdly, perceptions about the nature and role of elite and popular art have been influenced by national and international political, economic, and cultural tendencies, including globalisation, to such an extent that a direct link between cultural capital and high art as an elite instrument of power cannot be taken for granted in an analysis of arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999).

The central theoretical assumption of this study is that arts journalists at *Die Burger* are (key) manufacturers of cultural capital at the newspaper. A study of content produced by arts journalists at *Die Burger* in the 1990s might indicate where they positioned themselves in relation to shifting discourses and how they contributed to it. Adding to that, a description of the production context will shed some light on the relationship between arts journalism at *Die Burger* and other structures and agents in its field of cultural production, and how these constantly shift, *inter alia* through shifting discourses.

The following **general research question** can thus be formulated:

What do the discourses and practices of arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) reveal about their role as manufacturers of cultural capital in a society in transition to democracy?

Flowing form this, the following **specific research questions** can thus be formulated:

(a) How did the changes in South African society impact on the discourse and practices of arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999)?
(b) How did arts journalists position themselves in relation to the official editorial view of *Die Burger* (1990-1999)?
(c) How did arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) contribute to existing and/or new hierarchies of discursive power through cultural distinctions in a changing society?

1.7 Research design and methods

The particular research period, the period of transition from 1990-1999, was chosen for a number of reasons. In the first instance it enables one to describe the transformation of arts journalism at *Die Burger* against the backdrop of an arguably radically different preceding historical period. The period after 1990 was marked by significant changes in the structure of South African society that introduced and led to radical restructuring and repositioning at *Die Burger*.

President F.W. de Klerk's announcement on 2 February 1990 that the ban on the African National Congress (ANC) had been lifted and that Nelson Mandela would be released (which occurred only 9 days later, on 11 February 1990) heralded a new era. For the purposes of securing the research period of this study it is also significant that Mandela's one and only term as South Africa's first black president ended in 1999. The new millennium would introduce President Thabo Mbeki and a different phase in the history of a young democracy.

In agreement with Muller (1990:759), one could argue that Afrikaner nationalism steadily lost momentum -- in society in general, but also at Naspers and *Die Burger* -- from as early as the election victory of the NP in 1948, and then even more rapidly (according to Froneman

[2004:73–77]) after South Africa became a republic in 1961. Afrikaner nationalism (and racial capitalism) lost ground throughout the 1970s and 1980 because of (amongst others) local and international political and cultural pressures and boycotts, economic sanctions, and larger contextual geo-political shifts (such as the 1974 oil crisis which signaled an economic recession -- also in South Africa). The ruling NP was thus forced into reforms and concessions during the 1980s, which would mean that at least the last decade before 1990 was already one of fundamental transition. It could therefore be misleading to analyse 1990-1999 as the main (or only) period of transition. For at least two reasons this perspective should be modified in terms of this project on the transformation of arts journalism at *Die Burger*.

Firstly, Beukes (1992:538) confirms the perception of a somewhat contradictory stance at *Die Burger* and its owner Naspers between 1984-1990: During this time the company was distancing itself, in some respects, from a narrow definition of Afrikaner nationalism, firstly to include black speakers of the language and secondly to publish in English for a "broader society" (see Beukes, 1992). But Naspers also made it very clear at the same time that it would remain loyal to the cause of Afrikaners in general and specifically the political programme of "the broadening of democracy" which the NP under P.W. Botha had embarked on (and which paradoxically included a campaign of violent state repression -- also of the press -- under states of emergency). Secondly, even in terms of this "balancing act" between 1984-1990, changes which took place after 1990 at the company, and specifically at *Die Burger* (see Botma, 2006a), represent such a significant break with its positioning before and until then, that it clearly warrants an exclusive focus. That does not mean that the pre-1990 period will be ignored. To the contrary -- as was already clearly stated above -- the analysis of transformation during the 1990s will be informed by and will take place against the backdrop of the preceding apartheid period.

In order to approach answers to the research questions, newspaper content will be located through a systematically chronological archive search and then analysis by using critical discourse analysis (CDA) methods. Secondly, the CDA findings will be compared to data gathered from semi-structured in-depth interviews with managers and editorial staff members of Naspers and *Die Burger* (see Chapter 4 for a discussion of methodology).

In summary: This research process will indicate how arts journalists at *Die Burger* positioned themselves in the transition period (1990-1999), how they were affected, and what role they played in contributing to shifting discourses.

1.8 Structure of study

In Chapter 1 the study was introduced against the backdrop of the role and positioning of arts journalism at *Die Burger* during apartheid. It was established that post-apartheid arts journalism was deemed to be in crisis in comparison to the clear, purposeful contribution it saw itself making to readers during apartheid. After outlining its focus on the interim period of transition (1990-1999) from apartheid to democracy, this chapter introduced theoretical concepts of Pierre Bourdieu (field theory); Michel Foucault (discourse theory) and Antonio Gramsci (hegemony theory) as elements of a research framework. Flowing from this, CDA was identified as an appropriate research method within this theoretical framework to analyse newspaper texts produced by arts journalists in that period. Semi-structured in-depth interviews with managers and journalists of *Die Burger* and Naspers will establish triangulation.

Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical framework by discussing the work of Bourdieu, his theoretical positioning in the field and his relation to the discourse theory of Foucault. Chapter 3 contains an extended literature review of relevant studies already completed in the field. In Chapter 4 the methodology of the study will be outlined and discussed in detail. Chapter 5 contains the findings drawn from and discussion of the CDA analysis of newspaper texts, and Chapter 6 presents the findings from semi-structured in-depth interviews. Chapter 7 concludes the study.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction: epistemological and ontological considerations

The particular research focus constitutes arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) as an object of study. This does not mean that the researcher considers himself totally removed from the constituted object. The subjectivity of the researcher, in this case himself a former arts journalist at *Die Burger*, becomes part of the process of the formation of the research object in the act of researching. Although one would not be able to draw generalised scientific conclusions from the research findings, the project aims for integrity and validity in an effort firstly to create insight into and knowledge of arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999). The second aim is to contribute an innovative research design to the critical-cultural paradigm of journalism and media studies.

The motivation to research arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) was discussed in detail in Chapter 1. Flowing from that discussion, the researcher must firstly motivate particular theoretical choices in terms of the overal research design. In other words, I must make clear how my own position as former arts journalist influenced the approach to theory in this study.

It is clear that the two main contributors to the theoretical framework of this study, Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault, often viewed not only the world of science, but society in general, in different ways (see discussion in 2.5 below, as well as Addendum A). For instance, as a sociologist Bourdieu believed that the intellectual/researcher must obtain a measure of distance from the object of study, because he saw that as the basic condition for the production and communication of scientific knowledge (Bourdieu 1998b). He saw sociology as a craft (Bourdieu, Chamboredon & Krais, 1991), and he stressed empirical research and the value of a mixed methodology that combined qualitative and quantitative/statistical analysis long before it became fashionable in the social sciences (see Denzin & Giardina, 2009). On the other hand, Foucault (1990), as philosopher of the history of ideas, believed that science is a discourse of power/knowledge constructed by scientists with the will to gain power. He engaged in detailed qualitative analysis of literary and other texts -- with some regard to the context of their production.

In short, neither Bourdieu nor Foucault completely fit into the theoretical positioning, world view, methodology, and particular needs of this study. At the risk of simplifying the issue, the point is that Bourdieu remains too much of a modernist and a realist not only in his attachment to empirical (statistical) scientific practice, but also in his affirmation of "reality" outside discourse. In turn, it is easy to see how Foucault's belief in the power of discourse (alone) has arguably led to a powerless postmodern relativism, disconnected from "real" social life, within the context of social science.

But, the point on which this argument turns is that despite their differences, the theories of Bourdieu and Foucault are not irreconcilable in all respects. The two scholars share a structuralist heritage and a poststructuralist concern with the power of language users (and thus also arts journalists) to arbitrarily create "visions and divisions' (Bourdieu & Thomson, 1991) in society through their discourses.

The task in this chapter is thus to develop theoretical tools from the work of Bourdieu and Foucault for an analysis of the research object. Firstly the general framework will be outlined in brief below, followed by discussions on the central theoretical departure point and the theoretical positioning of the study. Then the focus will shift to a detailed discussion of the particular concepts central to the theoretical framework.

2.2 Central theoretical departure point

The central theoretical departure point in this study is that arts journalists can be seen as key manufacturers of cultural capital -- a form of transferable, enabling cultural and educational/professional power in society (Bourdieu, 1984, 1998a; Benson & Neveu, 2005). In the context of arts journalism in *Die Burger,* individual journalists, their editors and managers, the publication, and readers may benefit in various ways and at different stages and levels from the cultural capital thus manufactured. Arts journalists are part of an objective field of cultural production (Bourdieu, 1993) in which they compete against each other and other agents for various species of capital, especially the cultural capital specific to the field of arts journalism (such as skills in writing and analysis). In the process, arts journalists take part in specific discourses (Foucault, 1972), thus constituting and sustaining the field of arts journalism. They also create hierarchies amongst readers through a process of cultural distinction (Bourdieu, 1984). The field of arts journalism is part of the larger field of

journalism, which is part of the field of power (Bourdieu, 1998a). Because discourses have the power to both include and exclude specific ideas (Foucault, 1990), arts journalists may therefore arguably also influence discourses in society at large. In Bourdieu's terms, they may be creating cultural capital which only benefits those in power (thus to the detriment of those already marginalised). Thus, however, the opposite is also possible -- as manufacturers of cultural capital arts journalists may have the ability to contribute to liberating discourses as part of hegemonic struggles (Gramsci, 1996 [1975]) between different groups in society.

In sum, Bourdieu's (1984) field theory forms the basis of this study. For specific reasons (which will be addressed below), the theoretical framework will also include the discourse theory of Foucault (1972) and Gramsci's (1996 [1975]) hegemony theory. The argument is that this particular theoretical framework will enable an analysis of arts journalism at *Die Burger* during a period of change in South Africa in the 1990s.

2.3 Theoretical positioning

The theoretical positioning introduced above may be considered problematic for a number of reasons.

The first reason has to do with the uncertain positioning of Bourdieu's sociology in relation to journalism and media studies theory. Some of Bourdieu's central concepts are generally accepted within the critical-cultural paradigm, and especially within cultural studies (see Neveu, 2005), which form the broad theoretical orientation of this study. Bourdieu's (1984) work on cultural consumption and the links he draws between the seemingly arbitrary nature of judgments of taste and power (class and social) is especially influential in cultural studies. Yet, as the discussion in 2.3.2 below will show, the historic relationship between Bourdieu and cultural studies is not as straight-forward as one would like to imagine.

The second problem is that Bourdieu's relation to the traditional rival of cultural studies in the critical paradigm, critical political economy, remains unclear. Some scholars (see Hallin, 2005) in fact place Bourdieu rather close to critical political economy because of his structural approach to the field of cultural production and his crusade against what he called neo-liberal cultural imperialism and commercialisation (Bourdieu, 2003 & 2001). In light of the often hostile standoff between cultural studies and critical political economy (Neveu, 2005:205;

Lendman, 2008), the positioning of Bourdieu in relation to both cultural studies and critical political economy therefore needs to be addressed (see discussion below).

2.3.1 Critical political economy and cultural studies

Although both critical political economy and cultural studies are critical traditions with at least some roots in Marxism, political economy perspectives "emphasise *economic* and *political* processes of ownership and control, while structuralist perspectives -- aligned to cultural studies -- emphasise *social* and *cultural* processes of ideological and hegemonic power in media texts, both produced and consumed" (Laughey, 2007:123 -- original emphasis).

The gap between critical political economy and cultural studies led to fierce debates in especially the 1980s and 1990s and arguably reached stale mate by the end of that decade. The consensus was that critical political economy favoured production analysis, overestimated the power of ruling class ideology to infiltrate content, and was prone to economic determinism (in short, that it had stayed rather close to [neo-] Marxist theory). Criticism against cultural studies, on the other hand, centered on the consensus that it had broken with Marxist theory in favour of post-structuralist and postmodern theory, lost sight of the production context (in favour of textual/consumption/signification analysis), and overestimated the ability of popular culture to empower audiences.

However, since the dawn of the new millennium, voices have been raised in a call to occupy the middle ground. For example McChesney (2000:109-110) has argued that "all communication scholars, regardless of their areas of expertise, would benefit from a working knowledge of basic political economic concepts and theory". According to him critical political economy "is uniquely positioned to provide quality analysis of the most pressing communication issues of our era" (2000:110). In explaining these "pressing issues", McChesney (2000:116) declares:

> As Pierre Bourdieu argues, what we need today is to rekindle reasoned utopianism, the notion that it is the right of the world's people to use their imaginations to construct the media, the economy, the world, within reason to suit their democratically determined needs. (And as Bourdieu, himself,

> noted...the place to start should be by getting rid of 'the imperialism that affects cultural production and distribution in particular, via commercial constraints').

In the same breath, possibly to prevent his suggestion from leading to a renewal of paradigm turf wars, McChesney (2000:109) adds that he does not argue for the dominance of critical political economy but "merely that it be a cornerstone of all of them". Whether McChesney's positioning of critical political economy will convince all opponents in cultural studies is indeed doubtful, but his call has not altogether fallen on deaf ears.

In his book of 2006, *A Companion to Cultural Studies,* the editor Toby Miller devoted a chapter to "Political Economy within Cultural Studies". The view that these two traditions still display a shared heritage, is supported by amongst others Scott (2007a), Kellner (2003), and Hallin (2005). The latter states that the critical political economy school is "one part of the legacy of the British cultural studies tradition" (p.237). Edwards (2007) argues that the supposed break between Marxist theories and cultural studies has been overstated and that "an engagement with interdisciplinarity or, more basically, an argument for what one might call subject hybrids and drawing on an array of disciplinary backgrounds" (p.4), is a recurrent theme in contemporary media and cultural research.

Although I do not argue here that the differences between critical political economy and cultural studies have disappeared, or should be ignored, this study aims to follow scholars who are suggesting that researchers do not necessarily have to choose for one against the other. Especially in the case of Bourdieu, who regularly positioned himself in the gaps between paradigms and theories, the issue of his relation to critical political economy and cultural studies will probably, in any case, remain unresolved. The next section, however, will engage the debate briefly.

2.3.2 Bourdieu, critical political economy, and cultural studies

Bourdieu's field theory clearly shares Marxist departure points with critical political economy (Hallin, 2005). Hallin argues that critical political economy "has much in common with the work of Bourdieu, including the desire…to analyze the media as part of a wider social

formation" (2005:237). Bourdieu's link to critical political economy also manifests in that he similarly stands routinely accused of economic determinism.

Although Benson & Neveu (2005) refute the charge of economic determinism against Bourdieu, the result is that they also then appear to distance field theory from critical political economy. Calling field theory a "structuralism of a particular complex and nuanced sort", Benson & Neveu (2005:25) state that "field theory is dedicated to understanding the web of mediations which intervene between Marx's 'infrastructures' and superstructures'...and explicitly reject the Chomsky-style notion that the news media's behaviour can be explained solely by reference to their capitalists' ownership and control" (2005:10). They continue (*ibid*.):

> In contrast to the Marxist contention that the "dominant ideas are the ideas of the dominant class", Bourdieu explores the specific social worlds in which such ideas are actually produced with careful attention to their specific institutions, relationships and material and symbolic stakes and functioning. Bourdieu thus underlines the possibilities for the autonomy of journalistic and other cultural fields, including the paradoxical manner in which such autonomy comes to be institutionalized, as in, for instance, statutes which serve to protect the university or public television, both institutions of the state, from the state itself.

However, my view is that Benson & Neveu (2005) only distance field theory from a very crude version of critical political economy (see Botma, 2006a). In short, critical political economy scholars such as McChesney (2000) and Mosco (1996) have reacted constructively to criticism from related paradigms, such as cultural studies, and modified their position. In the case of Mosco (1996) it led to the incorporation of agency in the form of the theory of structuration, as it was formulated by the British sociologist Anthony Giddens (see Scott, 2007b). As the discussion in 2.4.3 below will illustrate, Bourdieu's theory of habitus is related to structuration theory.

Is the fact, however, that Bourdieu's field theory apparently shares common ground with critical political economy the only reason why the relationship between the French sociologist and cultural studies is a troubled one? It may be especially difficult to suspect animosity in the

light of the fact that concepts such as cultural capital and especially his book, *Distinction* (1984), are now considered part and parcel of the standard literature of cultural studies. The answer lies in history: Neveu (2005:202) states that Bourdieu famously referred to cultural studies as an antidiscipline while cultural studies, reciprocally, "long ignored the French sociologist's contribution". Robbins (2007:142), in turn, quotes Bourdieu as referring to cultural studies as "this mongrel domain" that is "one of several disciplines which has claimed to represent the interests of the dominated while, in fact, reinforcing a culturally rooted domination of 'cultural' conceptualization". According to Robbins (2007:143), Bourdieu's frustration with cultural studies arose because it conflicted with his "personal project to adopt social scientific method to analyse cultural behaviour and cultural forms". Instead, the Anglo-American discourses, which came to "dominate the international field of cultural conceptualization", was autonomizing culture by "detaching it from its social roots and divorcing it from its social function" (*ibid*.).

Neveu (2005) provides a similar overview but still positions Bourdieu close to cultural studies. According to Neveu (2005:205):

> For Bourdieu, the ambiguity of cultural studies in the 1980s lay in its semiological orientation, the weak sociological basis of much of its production, and its gradual slide into postmodern relativism. The suspicion also arose from its insufficient sensitivity to the material conditions of production of cultural and media goods, illustrated by the increasingly evident divorce inside the United Kingdom between cultural studies specialists and adherents of political economy.

Nevue (2005:202) points to two paradoxes: that Bourdieu "energetically fought semiological approaches, and nevertheless in practice constantly devoted close attention to the forms and materiality of media and cultural products" and that Bourdieu…"was one of the very few French researchers who very early on paid attention to the founding texts in British Cultural Studies…" Johnson (1993:1) states that Bourdieu's work "converges with and in many ways anticipates the renewed interest...in a broad sense, cultural studies".

In line with cultural studies approaches, Bourdieu's theory clearly includes (media) reception (see especially *Distinction*, 1984), but that does not mean that the scope of field studies

cannot be broadened. In fact, interestingly enough, field theory's research in journalism has primarily emphasised processes of cultural production in recent times (Benson & Neveu, 2005:7). But Neveu (2005:206) argues that field theory's interest in production and reception has "never been accompanied by a refusal to pay close attention the rhetoric of messages, to their 'internal' properties".

In short, it would seem that Bourdieu's problem with cultural studies was exactly its so-called-postmodern turn -- the move in the 1980s and 1990s to distance itself from the Marxist-inspired structural production analysis contained in critical political economy. In the process the focus of cultural studies shifted away from structural inequalities and hierarchies linked to elite ideology, to a certain postmodern version of a poststructural analysis of the power of resistance of the consumer of a popular culture that questioned the foundations of truth, knowledge, and science.

Bourdieu's theoretical positioning seems to fall somewhere between critical political economy and cultural studies. This makes his work particularly relevant to a study such as this which tries to combine both structural and poststructural theoretical elements within a critical-cultural paradigm. As was indicated above, this study will consider both the production context and media texts of arts journalism at *Die Burger* in the 1990s.

2.4 Theoretical framework: field theory

Having described the theoretical positioning above, I now turn to an outline of Bourdieu's field theory in relation to journalism and media studies. The way in which field theory will enable an analysis of arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) will be specifically addressed throughout.

The "distinct characteristics" of field theory (as applied to the study of journalism) become most evident, according to Benson & Neveu (2005:11), in a "highly empirical approach and interest in the everyday practice of journalism". Therefore this study will focus on the texts produced by arts journalists as well as the production context -- the newsroom of *Die Burger* (see Chapter 4 for a discussion of methodology).

Admitting that field theory shares this approach with "standard organizational literature", Benson & Neveu (2005:11) argue that the former is a "more systematic attempt to incorporate empirical data on individual journalists, newsbeats, and media organizations into progressively larger systems of power". In this vein Benson & Neveu (2005:23) regard field theory analysis as representing a "clear break from the classic single newsroom study" because "in practice, field studies tend to examine some (geographical or medium-related) sub-universe of a national journalistic field". I would argue that Benson & Neveu (2005) unnecessarily limit the scope of field theory here to macro analysis, and I aim to show that not only can the main theoretical concepts be fruitfully applied to a single newsroom, but even to a sub-field within that newsroom, such as arts journalism. In this I am in agreement with Hallin, who "also sees room for further development of field theory – to take more seriously cooperation as well as competition among journalists…" (in Benson & Neveu, 2005:17). Arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) were for instance competing on different levels against other stakeholders both inside their own newsroom and in the larger field of cultural production outside, which included competitors at the more liberal English newspapers.

Neveu (2005:206) concurs that field theory can be applied on a micro level:

> The sociological toolkit Bourdieu proposes is relational...at the 'micro' level, by inviting us to take into account journalists' primary and secondary education, the daily details of their interdependencies, and how their dispositions fit their objective positions. In this way, it also allows us to conceptualize the margins available for intervention, resistance, and the renewal of journalistic practice.

In this study interviews with individual journalists will provide the information needed for addressing above-mentioned sociological aspects.

Benson & Neveu (2005:12) summarise that "field theory position itself precisely between those approaches (political economy and cultural) that commit the 'short-circuit' fallacy and link news production directly to the interests of the broad social classes or the national society, and those (organizational) that focus too narrowly on particular news producers". Field research calls for the "examination of 'institutional logics': the simultaneous analysis of social structures and cultural forms, as well as the complex interplay between the two (Benson

& Neveu, 2005:12). Thus the relationship between arts journalists at *Die Burger,* the content they produced, and their changing environment in the 1990s will arguably became apparent in a field theory analysis.

According to Bourdieu (2005:32-33), the concept of field had the function "of refusing the choice between an internal reading of the text which consists in considering the text in itself and for itself, and an external reading which crudely relates the text to society in general". What is often lost in between these two is the "universe" of the producers of cultural works -- what Bourdieu (2005:33) calls a "microcosm" or "social universe" that "is somewhat apart, endowed with its own...law of functioning, without being completely independent of the external laws". To speak of a field, according to Bourdieu, is to name this social universe. He states (p.30):

> When we watch television, when we read a book or a newspaper, we tend to judge and explain what we see or read by mobilizing the resources of spontaneous sociology, and to impute everything to the responsibility of individuals, the malign nature of institutions etc. But in my view one can truly understand these things only through an analysis of the invisible structures that are fields…and…through an analysis of …the relations between these…fields.

Therefore, in trying to understand the content of arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999), the context (field) of its production is vitally important.

Benson & Neveu (2005:18) provide three reasons for the use of field theory. Firstly, it is a "means of incorporating history into the very heart of media analysis" because fields and individual agents "cannot be understood apart from their historical genesis and trajectory". The second reason is "we gain a tool for relational and spatial social analysis". Benson & Neveu (2005:1) argue that the concept of the journalistic field offers "a new way of understanding and explaining the constraints and processes involved in news media production". They continue (*ibid.*):

> Scholars and students already familiar with such spatial metaphors as Jürgen Habermas's 'public sphere' or Manuel Castell's 'media space' may find 'field'

> not only a more empirically useful conceptual tool but also one that opens up new kinds of intellectual inquiries.

Finally, field theory provides perhaps the best defense against "media-centrism", helping us situate journalism in its larger systemic environment (Benson & Neveu, 2005:18; Couldry, 2003a). Calling field theory a "work in progress", Benson & Neveu (2005:18-19) continue:

> Against the fruitless question of asking whether the press is or is not 'independent', research should help pinpoint the journalistic field's relative position *vis-à-vis* the range of other societal fields that compete to shape our vision of the social world…

Hallin (2005:241) argues that field theory needs to clarify a number of issues; the relationship between and competition among journalistic agents, the formation of common standards within the journalistic community, and the relationship between the political and journalistic fields. Neveu (2005:197) states that field theory is often accused of being "objectivist and mechanistic, of reducing media and cultural products to simple expressions of relations of force..." Although this study will not be able to address all these issues in depth, the relationship between and competition among arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) will be addressed. This includes how they refer internally to their editors and colleagues (such as political journalists) and their relation externally to others in the broader journalistic field, for example the more liberal English press. From a perspective of power based in the discursive positioning of relatively free agents, the study will further investigate whether an incorporation of (amongst others) Foucault's discourse theory and Gramsci's hegemony theory can sufficiently counter the perceived objectivist and mechanistic tendencies in Bourdieu's field theory.

Following this general introduction, the key concepts in field theory will be addressed separately. It must be noted that in the discussion of the concepts of capital, habitus, and field some overlaps will occur because they are intrinsically linked. For instance, habitus can be regarded as embodied capital, and competition for different species of capital occurs in fields. The categorisation and sequence followed here was informed by the focus of this study of arts journalists -- each as an agent with a specific cultural and educational background and career trajectory (cultural capital and habitus) in a field of cultural production.

2.4.1 Cultural capital

Bourdieu (1984:114) regards capital as "actually usable resources and powers". According to Weininger (2008:87) Bourdieu insists "that there exist multiple *species* of capital which cannot be subsumed under a single generic concept". Society is viewed as an ongoing struggle in which mainly two forms of capital are crucial: economic and cultural (Benson & Neveu, 2005:3). They continue (2005:4):

> The social world, as a whole, is structured around the oppositions between these two forms of power, with economic capital, on the whole, being more powerful; and with fields inside fields inside fields (like a series of Russian dolls) parallel to each other in their internal organization. This similarity within a difference is what Bourdieu means when he describes fields as 'homologous'...

The basic premise is that capital (as a form of power) is "transferable" -- for example from economic to cultural and vice versa -- under certain conditions in order to maintain the *status quo* of power relations and class inequality (see also Harker *et al*., 1990; Fowler, 2000). Weininger (2008:89) posits that the "prevailing conversion rate between the different capitals (for example, the prevailing economic costs and returns associated with education) is historically variable, being the product of conflicts between those who hold a preponderance of one or the other species of capital". In journalism not only particular newspapers, including *Die Burger*, but also individual (arts) journalists, will therefore be positioned differently in terms of the levels of capital (power) that they acquired through education and professional experience and performance. Those with the most capital will make/enforce the rules and control the rewards in a particular field.

Scholars ascribe a host of meanings to the term "cultural capital" -- including the processes and products of education and creating prestige, status, art, culture, taste, and (body) images in society. Cultural capital, according to Benson & Neveu (2005:20) and Weininger (2008:87), may take multiple forms: embodied (manners of the diplomat), objectified (owning a Monet painting), or institutionalised (cultural capital as certified by an authority: the Pulitzer or Nobel Prize). Benson & Neveu (2005:4) argue that cultural capital may encompass "such

things as educational credentials, technical expertise, general knowledge, verbal abilities and artistic sensibilities". Weininger (2008:87) views objectified forms as material objects "whose production or consumption presupposes a quantum of embodied cultural capital" and links institutionalised forms to educational credentials. He argues that "one of the foremost characteristics of cultural capital...is hereditability", adding that its "substantial contribution to the intergenerational reproduction of its transmission and acquisition" are "more disguised than those of economic capital" (*ibid.*).

Inside the journalistic field, economic and cultural capital each take on a specific form. Economic capital is expressed "via circulation, or advertising revenues, or audience ratings", whereas the "specific" cultural capital of the field takes the form of intelligent commentary, in-depth reporting, and the like -- the kind of journalistic practices rewarded each year in South Africa by the Mondi and Frewin prizes. Benson & Neveu (2005:4) continue:

> Each field is thus structured around the opposition between the so-called heteronomous pole representing forces external to the field (primarily economic) and the 'autonomous' pole representing the specific capital unique to that field (such as artistic or scientific skills)….Nevertheless, many agents do succeed in amassing both forms of capital….Indeed, organizations or individuals who dominate a field are generally those who successfully convert one form into the other, and in so doing, amass both 'social capital' of friendship and colleague networks, and 'symbolic capital' through which their dominance is legitimated.

If, for instance, arts journalists are invited to serve on judging panels for theatre or book awards, they are transferring cultural capital into symbolic and social capital. During the 1990s members of the arts desk of *Die Burger*, for example, regularly sat on judging panels for the M-NET book awards, the Fleur du Cap theatre awards, as well as various awards for popular music, classical music, fine arts, and dance. Following Bourdieu, Couldry (2003b) refers to this influencing role of the media in neighbouring fields as "meta-capital". He describes meta-capital as the ability of the media to control the "rules of play, and the definition of capital (especially symbolic capital), that operate within a wide range of contemporary fields of production" (Couldry, 2003b:653).

According to Webb, Schirato & Danaher (2002:x) cultural capital is "a form of value associated with culturally authorised tastes, consumption patterns, attributes, skills and awards". Cultural capital -- "what one knows through education and upbringing" -- is tied to socio-economic class, says Laughey (2007:85). As the discussion will later show, the issue of class is complex in South Africa -- due to its historic links to race as well as other issues. Yet, I would argue that class positioning of arts journalists pertaining to the Afrikaans/Afrikaner community (see Chapter 3) is an important component of their overall positioning in the field of cultural production.

A certain "class" in society may be empowered or disempowered by their amount of acquired (and also inherited) cultural capital. The media, as an important source of cultural capital in (post/late)-modern consumer society, is not neutral in this regard. Laughey (2007:71) considers Morley's discussion of cultural competence (in relation to genre theory) alongside Bourdieu's cultural capital. (Media) genres are not considered ideologically neutral but require a certain cultural competence "that tend to result in one genre becoming associated with a different class of audience in comparison to another" (*ibid.*). Thus it may follow that different (genre) types of media production, such as arts and political news coverage, may be assigned different cultural values by different groups. What is interesting is to consider the issue from a slightly different perspective: What is the role of arts journalism in assigning specific values -- that can be linked to different groups -- to cultural production? How are these value systems renegotiated when the social hierarchy within which these groups are ordered, shifts as a result of political transformation? As mentioned above, the concept of cultural capital -- linked to "quality" arts journalism, often by distinguishing between "high" and "popular" art (Bourdieu, 1984) -- is useful as a departure point from which to describe the institutional role of arts journalism at *Die Burger* under apartheid. Of course, a complicating factor to consider is where arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) fits into a perceived hierarchy of elite versus popular culture. In other words, in terms of journalism *Die Burger* during apartheid might have been considered a quality paper tied to elite interests. But in terms of culture as a whole (and despite its elitist cultural pretences) Bourdieu would probably also consider arts journalism at *Die Burger* as part of popular culture.

This study, however, moves beyond the apartheid era to investigate how arts journalists were still creating cultural capital for the newspaper in the period 1990-1999 when apartheid was being dismantled and a new democratic settlement was being negotiated. Were arts journalists

still manufacturing distinctions of value and taste: deciding and prescribing what is considered good and bad in art and culture; thus playing a role in the power game of "vision and division" (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991) or in Foucault's terms, were they creating discourses with the power to in- and exclude? The central/key question arises: what was the nature/content of the cultural capital arts journalists manufactured in the period 1990-1999? How did it compare to the official editorial policy of the newspaper? Was the coverage linked to a strict distinction between high/elite/Eurocentric art and popular/indigenous art? And how did the political and cultural shifts in society affect the coverage of Afrikaans/Afrikaner culture?

Bourdieu (1984) tends to use cultural capital as a contributing factor to the constitution of the class structures which maintain the *status quo* and inequality in society. Bourdieu has already been extensively criticised for the alleged rigidity of this concept -- that it is too closely tied to the problematic concept of high art and that it cannot describe change (see Fowler, 1997:5; Lane, 2000:4). Yet Bourdieu's consistent critical perspective and cognisance of the importance and role of human agency in influencing and changing structures would mean that he does not rule out gradual or even radical transformations of different forms of power, including cultural capital, altogether (see discussion on the issue of field transformation in 2.6.1). Once power has shifted, the notion of cultural capital can once again be employed without any complications as an instrument to describe how those in power use the distinction of culture and taste to strengthen the *status quo* and its particular class structure. But the interesting question, especially from the perspective of a society that moved from one political dispensation to the next, is: What happens to cultural capital in between the *status quos* -- when power is in transition such as in South Africa during the 1990s?

For instance, have the definitions and roles of elite and popular arts changed in the shift from a cultural context impacted upon by the racial logic of apartheid to a democratic one? How has the South African media's re-entry into a globalized market impacted on the relationship between elite and popular art on the one hand, and indigenous African art and culture *vis-à-vis* other so-called imported traditions on the other? Much insight could be gained into both Bourdieu's work and legacy and the role of culture in periods of power transition in society by critically examining the apparently fixed link between cultural capital, high art, and elite (political and/or economic) power.

2.4.2 Field of cultural production

The relationship between artists and arts journalists in the field of cultural production will be considered next. Bourdieu (1993:37) argues that a work of art is a "manifestation" of the field of cultural production as a whole, in which "all the determinisms inherent in its structure and functioning are concentrated". In the field of cultural production he therefore includes not only the "direct producers of the work in its materiality (artists, writers etc.) but also the producers of the meaning and value of the work -- critics, publishers, gallery directors, and the whole set of agents whose combined efforts produce consumers capable of knowing and recognizing the work of arts as such, in particular teachers (but also families, etc.") (*ibid.*).

Arts journalism, in the broad definition of this study, can therefore be included in the field of cultural production. As the discussion of arts journalism in Chapter 3 will indicate, the relationship between arts journalists and the arts is a symbiotic one that is described as both crucial and problematic. It is also clear that this study does not intend to map the total field of cultural production in which *Die Burger* operated, or in which the works of arts referred to in the newspaper manifested itself. But still -- by focusing on both the text and context of production during the decade -- much about the relations of power around arts journalism at the newspaper can be uncovered.

More to the point here is Bourdieu's (1993:40) view on the field of cultural production as "anti-economy" or "upside-down economic world". With this Bourdieu refers to the ordering of the literary and artistic world so that "those who enter it have an interest in disinterestedness" (*ibid.*). In short, artists who want to gain cultural capital in the field must believe and/or make others believe that they have no economic interests in pursuing their art, thus the stereotype of the struggling bohemian artist, also still known as the *avant-garde* (although the time of the historic avant-garde of the 18th and 19th century has long passed).

In Chapter 3 this issue will be discussed in more detail in relation to the persistence of the so-called logic of *avant-garde*. Suffice to say here that arts journalists often embrace the logic of the *avant-garde* and base their judgments of taste on a bohemian ideal, including economic disinterestedness. But Bourdieu believes that economic disinterest can only be maintained as long as the artist (or writer/journalist) has some form of economic support. In time, successful artists may transfer their cultural (and social and symbolic) capital into economic capital (they

may even become rich) at the risk of losing some credibility amongst new and struggling artists and those who propagate the logic of the *avant-garde* -- for example arts journalists.

As the discussion of arts journalism in Chapter 3 will indicate, both artists and journalists adopted complex strategies and assumed ambiguous positions under the influence of commercial pressures on the field of cultural production since the 1990s.

2.4.3 Habitus

The sections above have illustrated that Bourdieu's theory can be employed to describe structural and institutional dynamics. But what about the role of individual arts journalists -- what about (human) agency? Bourdieu's theory of action revolved around the concept of habitus (Weininger, 2008:83). With habitus theory, Bourdieu has tried to bridge the seemingly unbridgeable theoretical gap between structure and agency. According to Lane (2000), habitus is the result of Bourdieu's attempt to overcome the opposition between "objectivist" and "subjectivist" accounts of the social world (p.27) -- between "the unconscious submission to structural law, as the structuralists would have it" and "existential free choice, on Satre's model" (p.49)[ii].

Bourdieu (1998b:8) posits that the habitus describes "…classificatory schemes, principles of classification, principles of vision and division, different tastes…" Elsewhere, Bourdieu (1990a:55) describes habitus as a socially constituted system of dispositions that orient "thoughts, perceptions, expressions, and actions". Revering to yet another definition by Bourdieu, Benson & Neveu (2005:3) describe habitus as: "a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices…configurations of properties expressing the differences objectively inscribed in conditions of existence".

According to Weininger (2008:91) habitus poses that actions are generated "neither by explicit consideration of norms...nor by rational calculation". He continues (*ibid.*):

> Rather, in keeping with pragmatist philosophies, a dispositional understanding implies that under 'typical' circumstances, action can proceed on a pre-reflexive basis -- in other words, without recourse to conscious reflection on rules or estimations of results…

In essence Bourdieu uses habitus to describe the process and result of early socialisation of an individual into his or her surrounding family and cultural group. The important point is that habitus describes a process whereby culture literally becomes part of the individual -- it is "incorporated" -- and may find expression even in the way that we sit, eat, and speak, as well as our basic tastes and values.

According to Benson & Neveu (2005:3):

> The notion of habitus expresses a reasonable hypothesis: that individuals' predispositions, assumptions, judgments, and behaviors are the result of a long-term process of socialization, most importantly in the family, and secondarily, via …education.

Lane (2000:25) states that agents are neither totally free nor the mere puppets of objective social laws. They rather '"incorporate' a 'practical sense' of what can or cannot be achieved, based on intuitions gained through past collective experience, into their habitus...". The habitus is differentially formed according to each actor's position in social space (Weininger, 2008:91). Habitus is constantly being modified -- combating "naïve assertions of structural determinism" -- but maintaining that early experiences and practices, "shaped by one's location in the social class structure, shape those that follow" (Benson & Neveu, 2005:3). They continue (*ibid.*):

> In other words, any explanations of attitudes, discourses, behavior etc. must draw on an analysis of both structural position (within the field, the field's position *vis-à-vis* other fields etc.) and the particular historical trajectory by which an agent arrived at that position (habitus).

Quoting Noble and Watkins, Hillier & Rooksby (2005:10) claim that Bourdieu's work on habitus provides sophistication in dealing with complex processes of embodiment. As such habitus becomes a valuable tool for exploring the interdependence between structure and agency. According to Hillier & Rooksby (2005:10):

> Bourdieu's attempt to overcome the structure-agency divide is finally being given the credit it deserves. It not only avoids the pitfalls of mechanical determinism which often vitiate structural approaches; it also avoids presupposing a fully rational, calculating agent, as in rational action theory.

Lane (2000:194) states that "at the heart" of Bourdieu's conception of the habitus is what he terms the doxa, a "pre-reflexive, pre-predicative orientation towards the future...an implicit or 'practical' or 'common' sense of what can and cannot be reasonably achieved...what does or does not fall within a particular historically and culturally determined 'horizon of possibilities'". In this Bourdieu moves away from the Marxist theories of ideology which are concerned with "the inculcation of ideas and not sensitive enough to the incorporation of bodily positions" (Lane, 2000:196).

Habitus structures the future trajectory of the individual, but not in a deterministic way (the individual may learn to adapt and change his or her values and tastes for strategic reasons -- to get ahead in the field game). In other words, Bourdieu views habitus as a "generative machine engendering many seemingly unrelated responses to many situations, but which a sociologist can demonstrate to be interrelated" (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005:7).

In this study, habitus will allow the inclusion of biographical elements of individual arts journalists in the analysis, because it follows that members of a particular group may share certain values because of their similar/shared habitus. A description of the positioning of arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) may thus be strengthened by the inclusion of information about personal and professional background and trajectory. For example, biographical knowledge may shed light on the way a particular arts journalist or editor selects and supports (or ignores) certain cultural products or values.

Although Bourdieu repeatedly stressed the dynamic nature of habitus, many critics return to what they regard as a conceptualisation of a rather static predisposition engendered by early socialisation. Hillier & Rooksby (2005:13-14) take these critics to task by referring to recent works of scholars such as Weiss, Sweetman, and Mutch. In total they argue not only that the transformation of the habitus is commonplace, but that many individuals occupy multiple habituses and can move from one to another. In other words, not only can the habitus change

and adapt to the challenges posed by new fields, but an individual can "create" a new habitus to deal with a specific challenge.

One might argue that habitus becomes akin to the concept of persona in Freudian psychoanalysis in this new (and contested) view. Hillier & Rooksby (2005:14-15) point to the fact that some scholars do indeed see strong links between especially Bourdieu's later work and psychoanalysis -- "reflecting perhaps the influence of Foucault and Deleuze". One could argue that another concept from psychoanalysis (the Jungian "collective unconscious") could perhaps also then be (superficially) regarded as close to habitus. However, as this study will not refer to psychoanalysis or social psychology in any depth, it would therefore rather opt to return to the already covered/more familiar terrain of Foucault in terms of discourse theory. In that realm habitus could arguably be equated with Foucault's "cultural unconscious" (May & Powell, 2007:138). On this point the remark by Hillier & Rooksby (2005:7), - about "traces of Foucauldian ideas that are increasingly apparent in Bourdieu's later work", might thus lend support. According to these scholars (*ibid*.), Foucauldian ideas are increasingly apparent in Bourdieu's "genealogical approach to habitus" -- in other words the specific historical trajectory of the individual.

2.5 Why Foucault?

The end of the previous discussion seems to suggest that affinities exist between the work of Bourdieu and Foucault, but this issue is far from uncontested. In fact, according to scholars such as Callaewart (2006), fundamental differences between the theoretical positioning of the two scholars are often ignored. These perceived differences thus need to be considered seriously if the theoretical framework of this study wants to gain general acceptance.

Firstly, Bourdieu himself positioned his theory deliberately away from that of Foucault. Bourdieu reacted against what he perceived as the so-called postmodern turn (after modernism) in Foucault's work, and in so-doing introduced the highly contested modern-versus-postmodern debate in any discussion on their relative theoretical positioning. Thus, any theoretical framework that wants to include aspects of the work of both will have to give account of itself on this score. Add to that two complicating factors and the picture seems even more confusing. Both scholars have adopted a particular stance against the influence of structuralism -- each is poststructuralist in his own way. Secondly, a particular version of

poststructuralism has been conflated with postmodernism in descriptions of especially Foucault's legacy, with the result that where Foucault is often labeled a postmodernist, Bourdieu is regarded as a modernist.

In view of these potential theoretical hindrances the question arises: Why not use Bourdieu's field theory, a totalising theory (Benson & Neveau, 2005) if ever there was one, on its own to analyse arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999). Why use Foucault's work at all if this will only complicate matters? Or, from another perspective, why not concentrate mainly on the work of Foucault? Why, indeed, bother with Bourdieu and Foucault?

The answer lies in the epistemological and ontological considerations summarised in 2.1 above: Taking Bourdieu's field theory or Foucault's discourse theory in isolation will arguably be at odds with both this researcher's view of the science of knowledge and the world in general, his training and methodological abilities, and the specific aim to analyse the role, positioning, and possible influence of arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999). The work of both Bourdieu and Foucault thus provide a more interesting and arguably far more complex theoretical approach to describe continuous and multi-levelled shifts between epochs and cultural traditions in comparison to the construction of a clear and simple dichotomy between modern and postmodern. This point will be elaborated in the rest of this chapter.

Firstly one must ask how to engage with the theoretical legacy of Bourdieu and Foucault without over-simplifying of their respective positions. Both have multiple and varied publication outputs that are interpreted from different angles, by scholars working in different national, cultural, language, political, economic, and disciplinary contexts.

May & Powell (2007:123) identify a range of intellectual influences of Foucault, including Nietzsche, Weber, Marx, Gramsci, Kuhn, and Habermas. The essence of his approach has been called "interpretative analysis", "modes of information", and "govermentality studies" while his ideas have influenced fields such as cultural studies, criminology, management and organisation, social research, philosophy, sociology, and politics (*ibid.*). Foucault has been called a structuralist, poststructuralist, and postmodernist.

In Bourdieu's case the list is similarly long -- Boschetti (2006:143-144) summarises:

> ...his [Bourdieu's] theoretical ground is uncommonly internationalist, as it includes the main philosophical, anthropological and sociological traditions produced by western contemporary thought, such as phenomenology, analytic philosophy, neo-Kantian theory from Cassirer to Panofsky, historicist epistemology advocated by Bachelard, structuralism, American and British cultural anthropology and the inheritance of sociology's founding fathers.

Simplified descriptions of Bourdieu's theoretical positioning in recent years seem to have centred on variations of structuralism and modernism to constructionism and even postmodernism (although consensus is turning away from this notion in favour of modernism).

Although this study accepts the breadth and depth of the theoretical contestations around conceptions of modern versus postmodern and/or structuralism versus poststructuralism, it will not engage the issue further here. Not only does the focus of research on arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) preclude such a lengthy theoretical diversion, but this study also accepts and honours the explicit objections of both Bourdieu and Foucault to these and other simplistic categorisations of their work (see Bourdieu, 2005:39 ; Foucault, 1990:34-35 as well as Addendum A.) With these few comments, this study thus regards a complex and often contradictory set of theorising as read (see Laughey, 2007; Abercrombie and Longhurst, 2007; Abercrombie, Hill & Turner, 2006; Macey, 2001; Denzin & Giardina, 2009:27; and Addendum A for a personal summary of the debates).

Callewaert (2006:74) traces the divide between Bourdieu and Foucault back to the time when they had to situate themselves towards contemporary Marxism. Both scholars sharply criticised the dominant French Marxist traditions in the 1960s but in different ways. According to Callewaert (2006:74-75):

> ....while Foucault's principal scientific endeavour became an extremely interesting reconstruction of the historical and present 'liberal' understanding of man and society as a *discourse*, Bourdieu went on as a sociologist to refine the anti-liberal understanding elaborated by the classics of sociology, with the focus on social *practice* (original emphasis).

In other words, the most significant difference between the two scholars might just be related to the most obvious (and arguably least considered) fact that Bourdieu was a sociologist and Foucault a philosopher. (Of course, this does not imply that Foucault's work is not considering social practice at all or that Bourdieu is not a theorist of language and discourse [as well], but the point is that a discussion of their different professional positioning within the French academy will throw some light on their respective intellectual projects (see Addendum A for a short biographical summary).

Although there are substantial differences between Foucault and Bourdieu, their theoretical paths seem to converge in their efforts to move beyond structuralism. As the following discussion will show, it is in fact in the way that both theorised a link between language and power in an effort to bridge the structure and agency gap that the most common ground exists. In short, the notion that "division and branding" are linked to power is a shared one. Bourdieu (2005:39) argues that the "imposition of a definition of the world is in itself an act of mobilisation which tends to confirm or transform power relations…" Politics is therefore a "struggle to impose the legitimate principle of vision and division, in other words the one that is dominant and recognized as deserving to dominate, that is to say, charged with symbolic violence…" (*ibid.*).

Bourdieu (1998a:8) refers to journalists and politicians as agents with the power to formulate "principles of vision and division". I thus argue that the idea of language as a medium of power provides the strongest link between Bourdieu's field theory and Foucault's conception of discourse. According to Bourdieu (2005:37):

> Those who deal professionally in making things explicit and producing discourses -- sociologists, historians, politicians, journalists etc. -- have two things in common. One the one hand, they strive to set out explicitly practical principles of vision and division. On the other hand, they struggle, each in their own universe, to impose these principles of vision and division, and to have them recognized as legitimate categories of construction of the social world.

Foucault used Jeremy Bentham's design for the ultimate prison, the panopticon, as an example of the way in which society exercises control over the individual. In order for power/control to be exercised, however, a process of "binary division and branding", resulting

in “discursive formations”, has to take place first (Laughey, 2007:74).Through discursive formations discourse exhorts power -- for example the discourse of medicine/psychiatry has the power to decide who is healthy/sane or not. Dividing practices, according to Foucault, are deployed to “maintain social order -- to separate, categorize, normalize and institutionalize populations” (May & Powell, 2007:130).

According to Foucault (1972), discourse therefore acts as a mechanism of in- and exclusion -- certain ideas and values are made present while others are made absent. Bourdieu (2005:38) agrees by arguing that “the struggles for the monopoly of legitimate symbolic violence are struggles for symbolic royalty”. According to him “one of the functions of taxonomies is to say who is ‘in’ and who is ‘out’; who are the citizens and who the foreigners” (*ibid.*). Similarly, through their discourses, arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) may exhort the power to include or exclude artists through discursive formations, amongst others through distinctions between “elite” and “popular”.

Macfarlane (2008:711) describes the use of Bourdieu’s work in conjunction with Foucault’s theories “to illustrate how habitual strategies and dispositions, which are part of the habitus of individuals, contribute to how the game is played and how it changes over time”. Even Callewaert (2006), who argued a strong case against efforts to reconcile the work of Bourdieu and Foucault, states that their intellectual projects are “self-sustaining and incommunicable, but parallel” (2006:76). This parallel nature of their work relates to the “features of the scientific, intellectual and political field [that they have] in common” (*ibid.*). In other words: Bourdieu and Foucault operated in, reacted to and positioned themselves in relation to the same French society in the middle of the 20th century, and although their publications did not often directly “speak” to one, they are “omnipresent in each other’s works” (*ibid.*). Johnson (1993:1) echoes this sentiment when he declares that Bourdieu “detects the relationship between systems of thought, social institutions and different forms of material and symbolic power, revealing certain affinities with...Foucault...”

Picking up on this last sentiment, I would argue that on the issue of language as a “medium of power” Bourdieu’s field theory and Foucault’s conception of discourse run so closely parallel that they are able to enhance one another. In short, Foucault provides the philosophical depth with the conception of discourse while Bourdieu’s field theory enables an analysis of social practice -- in this case that of arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999). Arts journalists were

creating discourses as part of hegemonic cultural struggles in society around, for instance, the role of place of Afrikaans in relation to so-called indigenous African arts and culture. In other words, through their content they were attaching labels with the potential to create divisions -- in Bourdieu's terms they were creating distinctions.

2.6 Key theoretical themes

Having addressed the relationship between Bourdieu and Foucault in this study, other central theoretical concepts and themes will be outlined next. These include firstly the issue of field changes, the conception of power and class used in this study, and then a summary of the issue of cultural hierarchies and transformation (the high/low and/or Eurocentric/Afrocentric) debate to conclude the chapter.

2.6.1 Field changes

Because this study deals directly with the reactions of and contributions to political, economic, cultural, and social changes in the South African society of arts journalists at *Die Burger* in the 1990s, it is important to assess the ability of field theory to describe change. Arguably, the incorporation of Foucault's theory on discourse and Gramsci's hegemony theory contributes to the understanding of shifts in power dynamics (more about this below), but field theory still forms the basis of the analysis.

Importantly for this study, Benson & Neveu (2005:6) directly address the contested issue of transformation in field theory. Benson & Neveu (2005:6) agree in part with scholars who have attacked the static nature of field theory by admitting that "despite the inherent dynamism and conflict inside fields, most of this activity will tend to largely reproduce the structure of the field". Hallin (2005:230) also argues that field theory involves a "normative preference for the autonomy of fields". He continues (*ibid.*):

> When fields lose their autonomy in relation to one another, society loses diversity of creative resources, and presumably...flexibility.

Klinenberg (2005:185) argues that Bourdieu's theory regards "new entrants, particularly from marginalized or excluded groups or classes" as "one mechanism for generating change in the field". He continues (*ibid.*):

> Yet…the most successful new entrants are likely to be those who have been professionalized to accept the 'rules of the game' rather than radicals who want to effect major change.

Lane (2000:4) also regards the most frequent criticism leveled against the work of Bourdieu as its "perceived determinism and consequent inability to account for significant historical change". But according to Lane (2000:5) these criticisms are difficult to comprehend in light of the fact that much of Bourdieu's subject matter deals with a shift from an "imperialist" period to that of a period of "late capitalism" in French society.

Benson & Neveu (2005:6) posit that change in Bourdieu's conception of fields may be difficult "unless and until it is also subject to pressures from neighbouring fields". They continiue (*ibid.*):

> Such external shocks could include new political orders brought about by democratic processes, dramatic changes in the overall legal and economic policy environment, as well as specific media regulations, social and cultural movements, and economic crises…

Fortunately for this study, the field of arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) was indeed influenced by simultaneous pressures from and dramatic changes in various other fields of society during a time when (following a period of crisis) a new political order was introduced. But the argument works the other way as well: the journalistic field may have impacted on society at the same time. For this view, Benson & Neveu's (2005:6) interpretation of Bourdieu's theory also provide support:

> Transformations of the journalistic field matter…precisely because of the central position of the journalistic field in the larger field of power, as part of an ensemble of centrally located fields -- also including social sciences and

> politics (both state and parties or associations) -- that compete to impose "the legitimate vision of the social world"…

In other words: under certain conditions journalistic fields may "transform power relations in other fields" (Benson & Neveu, 2005:9). Benson & Neveu (2005:6) summarise "the chief thesis" of Bourdieu's controversial book *On Television* (1998a), but adds that "it is not the whole of field theory":

> ...as the journalistic field has become more commercialized and thus more homologous with the economic field, it increases the power of the heteronymous pole within each of the fields, producing a convergence among all the fields and pulling them closer to the commercial pole in the larger field of power…

As Chapter 3 will indicate, the field of arts journalism in South Africa undoubtedly became more commercialised towards the end of apartheid. The extent of influence on the texts and practices of arts journalists at *Die Burger* in the 1990s will be addressed in detail in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively.

The journalistic field is characterised, argues Bourdieu (2005:33), by a high degree of heteronomy. In other words, it is a very weakly autonomous field. The measure of autonomy, however, means that to understand what happens in journalism, one has to conceptualise the microcosm and try to understand the effects that the people engaged in it exert on one another (Bourdieu, 2005:33). It would therefore not be enough to analyse the journalistic text of the 1990s in isolation, because the views of, relationships between, and pressures on individual journalists are equally important.

Although Bourdieu's (1998a) analysis was mainly based on a critique of French television, subsequent studies using field theories in a number of very different settings have proved valuable for describing and understanding the production context of journalism on a variety of platforms (see Benson and Neveu, 2005; Botma, 2008b). Furthermore, field theory does not only provide a mechanism to describe the workings and impact of economic power in the field of cultural production. According to Lane (2000:164-165), Bourdieu understood language and culture as "contradictory entities, the sites of constant struggle between classes

and class fractions, subject to the pressures of significant social, economic and political changes".

I therefore consider field theory well suited for analyses of changes in arts journalism at *Die Burger* during the 1990s, and how arts journalists might have affected journalism and society in turn. But in light of the multiple views that field theory rather tends to emphasise the conservation of fields, this study will extend (and arguably then strengthen) Bourdieu's conception of power in order to account for change in a complex environment such as South Africa in a period of radical power transition (as the discussion below will illustrate).

2.6.2 Symbolic class struggle

As was discussed above, capital is a form of power that takes on a variety of forms. In terms of class power economic and cultural capital are most important. Cultural capital is inculcated (as part of the habitus) at home and in school. Because it is embodied, this process requires an investment of time and money. An analysis of the habitus of arts journalists (by collecting biographical information) and levels of cultural capital (educational and occupational credentials) will therefore shed light on their own positioning and role within a symbolic class structure/struggle.

However, the question may arise of how Bourdieu's description of class power can be applied within a South African context in which concepts of class were traditionally interlinked with that of race. For example, although not all whites belonged to an elite socio-economic and political class, and not all blacks were poor in different forms of power/capital, whites were generally (and purposefully) more empowered by the system of apartheid than were blacks. In addition to different socio-economic classes, racial discrimination also created hierarchies, with whites on top, followed by Indians, coloureds, and blacks. During the period of transition under discussion here (1990-1999), deliberate strategies were employed to change this fundamentally unequal power structure, but its legacy remained persistent in practice and in discourses about practice in society.

Prior (2005:131) argues that Bourdieu has often privileged class in his analysis and that his theory of class power has been criticised for its alleged rigidity[iii]. Stating that Bourdieu himself left room for an interpretation that class might not be the only "dimension of

stratification", Prior (*ibid*.) refers to efforts to include other dimensions of stratification, such as gender. Weininger (2008:110) argues that Bourdieu's theory considers "historical specificities of the different bases of social domination", which means that class is not prioritised and "must compete on an equal footing....in the symbolic arena...". Huppatz (2009:46) supports the idea that Bourdieu's theory on class power can be adapted -- by introducing the notion of gendered capital to examine the relationship between gender and class. Following Bourdieu, a number of scholars (see Huppatz, 2009; Prior 2005), have expanded the list of sub-species of capital to include, besides gender and feminine capital, emotional and physical capital.

However, as Lane (2000) indicates, the endeavor might not be an easy one. Bourdieu's view that the habitus, functioning on an unconscious level, determines outcomes and strategies in the end -- even if they are relatively unpredictable -- is problematic for gender theorists who address it as an ideological construct and not an embodied practice (Lane, 2000:196). He continues (*ibid*.):

> Bourdieu never convincingly explains what kind of politics might address inequalities of class or gender at that embodied level.

Similarly one can argue that it is problematic to view so-called race as embodied practice. Contemporary scientific consensus across various disciplines suggests that the biological basis for so-called racial distinctions is thin. Differences in appearance, such as skin colour, developed in response to environmental challenges and geographical factors rather than through genetic programming (Oppenheimer, 2004). On the other hand, the politics of race, specifically in the South African context under apartheid and its legacy of inequality and discrimination post-apartheid, dealt with four fixed categories: White, black, coloured, and Indian. In other words, the categories of race -- and the identities associated with them -- were constructed (or at least consolidated) under apartheid, in part by creating ideological discourses with the will to power. However, the people whose identities were constructed in this way had real experiences in the socio-economic, cultural, and political systems that they were subjected to -- in the sense that it had real effects on their prospects to access education, health services, employment, entertainment etc. It is therefore possible to argue that the apartheid categorisation of race impacted on the socialisation of individuals and that it became part of their habitus, or embodied capital in the social field. To put it bluntly, it was a bonus to

be white and a burden to be black. In Bourdieu's terms white people, who made up the majority of *Die Burger's* editorial staff, had racial capital in their favour during apartheid. The interesting question is to what extent the shifts in society that occurred in the 1990s affected the value of white cultural capital in relation to black cultural capital.

In conclusion, I therefore suggest that this study could use the idea of racial capital in the South African context in order to describe the legacy of the socio-economic link between socio-economic class and race that was still clearly visible in the period 1990-1999. The introduction of racial capital, does not, however, account for the various hegemonic struggles between individuals of the same so-called race and ethnic group during that period. For example, the overview in Chapter 1 already suggested that the Afrikaans language group was divided across various lines, including economic class, cultural, race, and ethnicity (more about this in Chapter 3).

In order to strengthen the ability to describe discursive struggles around racism, this study will refer to "interlocking strategies of denial" used by some South African journalists "to remodel the field of racist practices and representations into a terrain suited to preserving white privilege" within an ostensible non-racist discourse (Durrheim, Quayle, Whitehead, & Kriel, 2005:167).The strategies Durrheim *et al* (2005) identify are: Splitting (distinguishing between "evil" and more "benign" forms of racism); (dis)locating racism (distancing oneself from "evil" racism); de-racialising racism (looking for the cause of racial signification elsewhere -- outside racism); and relativising, trivialising and reversing racism (taking the moral and political sting out of accusations of racism). In addition, Wasserman (2010b) refers to an alternative discourse, "collective acceptance of racism and self-criticism". According to Wasserman (2010b:29) this discourse calls for "critical introspection" without "denying or relativising racism". These strategies will be used in Chapters 5 and 6 to evaluate discourses on race by journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999).

Attention now turns to Bourdieu's view of a field of power, which is constituted by a dominant elite group whose members may show more diversity in terms of the categories of economic class, culture, race and ethnicity mentioned above than, for instance, the members of a ruling political party at a particular time. The following discussion examines whether or not the concept of field of power can account more adequately for the articulation of power

struggles both between and within different social groups than Bourdieu's conceptions of habitus/embodied capital and class power.

2.6.3 Field of power

The journalistic field is seen as part of the field of power; however, it lies within "the 'dominated' field of cultural production" (Benson & Neveu, 2005:5) -- meaning that, in general, economic and political power hold sway over cultural power. Furthermore, the cultural pole of journalism is part of "the field of 'restricted'" cultural production (produced for other producers -- small literary journals, *avant-garde* art, and music, etc.) while its economic pole belongs to the field of large-scale cultural production (produced for general audiences -- mass entertainment etc" (Benson & Neveu, 2005:5). According to the latter, however, Bourdieu "insists that even the journalistic field is best understood as a microcosm set within the macrocosm…" (Benson & Neveu, 2005:5), thus maintaining a relative measure of independence.

The theme introduced above picks up on an issue already raised earlier in this chapter. Were arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) part of an elite body in society, or were they part of popular culture? Bourdieu argues that journalists are part of the petit-bourgeoisie. They are not fully part of either the powerful ruling elite or the popular working classes yet find themselves at the intersection of different forms and agencies of power. In theory, arts journalists are probably closer aligned to the ruling elite but in practice they produce a product for mass consumption. Arts journalists have links to both elite and popular culture but are not totally dominated or controlled by either.

Arts journalists at *Die Burger* during apartheid were thus tied to white cultural capital and elite power, but they were also part of a popular culture that sometimes included challenges to elite hegemony on various levels. Accepting this, it becomes possible to predict that arts journalism at *Die Burger* probably displayed various multiple intersecting, overlapping, diverging, and contradicting interests. The aim of this study is to uncover and map these different power relations at the newspaper during the 1990s.

The question, then, is whether capital and habitus (as encompassing ideology and class) along with field of power are able to fully describe the so-called ideological impact of the content

produced by arts journalists. In other words, are these concepts flexible enough to describe open-ended ideological struggles both within and outside the field of journalism?

According to Bourdieu, habitus structures the more or less fixed predispositions of individuals and groups, while agents in the field of power act to maintain the status quo in a particular field. In terms of the focus on change and transition in the media and society in this study, one can therefore understand a measure of doubt about the usefulness of Bourdieu's conception of power. Despite strong counter-arguments for the potential of these concepts to describe transformation, habitus, class, or field of power are not primarily descriptions of change. In other words, critics who argue that Bourdieu seems to have placed the emphasis on the power of preservation, and not the transformation of fields, cannot be totally ignored. The discussion will thus turn to ways in which Bourdieu's conception of power could be strengthened to include processes of transformation.

2.6.4 Discursive power

A central image of Foucault's view of the techniques of power is the panopticon (referred to in the discussion on the relationship between Bourdieu and Foucault above). According to Foucault, this design by the philosopher Jeremy Bentham makes it possible for "a single gaze to see everything perfectly" (May & Powell, 2007:124). Panopticism becomes a process "whereby certain mechanisms permeate social systems beyond actual, physical institutions", thus making possible "flexible methods of control" that may be adapted and transferred as "centers of observation" throughout society (*ibid.*). They continue:

> Their [the mechanisms'] function is to rouse and sustain moral interpretations of particular social behaviours throughout intermittent observations such that their objects come to internalize their own surveillance around given norms of conduct.

In the first place, this description of the internalisation of "moral interpretations of particular social behaviours" reminds one of Bourdieu's concept of habitus as embodied socialisation (see discussion above). Secondly, it provides a link to the role of language/discourse/knowledge in Foucault's conception of power/action. May & Powell (2007:124) state that "one important facet of Foucault's analysis is his preoccupation with

historical periods in which conventional values are in flux…and how the emergences of cultural discourses then inform commonsensical understandings of normality". Although disciplinary power in the Foucauldian sense may be underemphasised in this study, the description above is clearly also applicable to the structuring role of cultural discourse in post-apartheid South Africa.

The most important aspect here is that Foucault views the relationship as reciprocal -- "just as knowledge shapes what action is possible and what power is exercised, those actions also shape the creations of new knowledge and what is thereby given credence" (*ibid.*:125). This leads, over time, to the establishment of legitimate domains "which both define what is real and what can be done about it" while "other possible interpretations are simultaneously discounted and delegitimized" (*ibid.*). May & Powell (2007:125) continue:

> The result is a view and mode of practice in which power and knowledge support each other. These domains not only sustain, for example, certain professional discourses, they mould what those professions might become.

An equally important aspect of Foucault's conception of power is that he does not view power in exclusively negative terms (see Foucault, 1990:102). For Foucault, according to May & Powell (2007:133), "the production of identity is implicated in the production of power which is both positive and negative". They continue (*ibid.*):

> Identity may be imposed through the surveillance of a subject population. This surveillance produces both discipline (that is, conformity to the norm), and the disciplines (regulated fields of knowledge and expertise).

Foucault thus stressed that power not only constrains identity but also leads to the creation/organisation of knowledge -- much in the same way that Bourdieu views the role of power in the maintenance of relatively autonomous fields, in some instances as a factor in the ordering of social life.

In this view, arts journalists play a role in the establishment of the domain of legitimate arts and culture in society through their discourses. In turn, the domain of arts journalism is created, shaped, and sustained by discourses about the arts and arts journalism in society. One

may also argue that arts journalists play a surveillance role while they circulate and police accepted boundaries of knowledge in the form of norms and values about arts and culture. Finally, these values and norms (or "commonsensical understandings of normality" [May & Powell, 2007:124]) are internalised by arts journalists -- it becomes part of their habitus, in Bourdieu's terms.

But despite the positive contributions of Bourdieu and Foucault to the theory of power in this study, both often still stand accused of denying that active agents could exert their own power. Foucault's "social constructivism", consisting of "classification and dividing practices, technologies of the self and political grids of bodies and populations" has led to criticism that he "deprives human subjectivity of agency" (May & Powell, 2007:132). Johnson (1993:2) views Bourdieu's theory of power as "diffuse and often concealed in broadly accepted, and often unquestioned, ways of seeing and describing the world". Although both these scholars and their supporters have regularly countered these criticisms of their work, the discussion thus far seems to suggest that both were seemingly caught in the gap between structure/objectivity and agency/subjectivity,which they tried, in different ways, to close with their respective intellectual projects. The efforts of Bourdieu in this regard are already well noted. In Foucault's case, his journey was from exploring "how we are constituted as objects of knowledge to how we are constituted as subjects of power/knowledge" (May & Powell, 2007:138). Or, as the same scholars state elsewhere, Foucault tried to move beyond the "Outside-inside alternative" (p.137).

In other words, both Bourdieu and Foucault departed from a position of structural determinism and, in response to criticism, tried to extend the range of agency in their theory. Opinions vary on the measure of their respective success in this regard. Although this study argues against a view of simplistic categorisation in respect of both, it might still be a good idea to consider a theory of power that is formulated from the perspective of struggle and transformation. The above reference to so-called common sense as power turns the discussion to Gramsci's (1996 [1975]) concept of hegemony, the last element in the theory of power employed in this study.

2.6.5 Hegemony

At its most basic, according to Mouffe (1979:10), hegemony is defined as "political, intellectual and moral leadership over allied groups". Mouffe (1979:9) posits that hegemony provides a "non-revisionist answer" to Marxist problems such as "the development of capitalism was not going to cause the disappearance of those social groups which were not strictly the bourgeoisie or the proletariat and that the working class would have to pose the problem of the transition to socialism in terms which were not strictly class-based". Gramsci argues that the "supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as 'domination' and as 'intellectual and moral leadership'" (Mouffe, 1979:9-10).

In short, Gramsci argued that ruling groups can maintain their power either through force, consent, or a combination of the two (Croteau & Hoynes, 2003:165). The value of hegemony is that it connects questions of culture, power, and ideology (*ibid.*) thus contributing to the theory of power of both Bourdieu and Foucault. Mouffe (1979:201) argues that if one accepts Gramsci's notion that "the supremacy of class is not solely exercised by means of its domination over adversaries, but also by means of its role of leadership over allied groups, then one can begin to understand that far from being localised in the repressive state apparatuses, power is exercised at all levels of society and that it is a 'strategy' -- as Michael Foucault puts it".

The important point is that hegemony must be consistently affirmed, and that it can be contested and transformed. What makes Gramsci's notion attractive in this study of South Africa's recent history is that hegemony is also useful when conceptualising a situation of power transition -- in other words "existent, emergent and decaying power elites" -- argues Louw (2001:8). As Stuart Hall (2004 [1980]) also states: hegemonies have to be built and maintained. So ruling elites are not "conspiracies" (Louw, 2001:8); they are the outcome of hard hegemonic labour.

The creation of a new hegemony implies "the transformation of the previous ideological terrain and the creation of a new word-view which will serve as a unifying principle for a new collective will" (Mouffe, 1979:191). According to Bennett (2004: 351), the bourgeoisie can only become a hegemonic leading class, in Gramsci's sense, to the extent that bourgeois ideology is able to accommodate opposing class cultures and values. Thus the notion that non-elites are necessarily powerless and perpetually manipulated must also be questioned (Louw, 2001:8). He suggests that it is "more helpful to recognize the existence of elites and

aspiring elites, as well as non-elite groups who are part of a complex pluralist competition for (material and cultural) resources and power" (*ibid.*). As the following discussion will show, this concept of power is particularly relevant within the context of this study.

Herman & Chomsky (1994) interpret hegemony through the notion that journalists are able to "manufacture consent" through their published content. As the title of this study indicates, the focus here is not only on the creation of elite consent -- through the unequal distribution of cultural capital -- but also on the role of arts journalists in manufacturing counter-hegemonic discourses.

2.6.6 Cultural hierarchies and transformation

This study aims to examine the role of arts journalism at *Die Burger* in struggles for cultural hegemony between different competing elites in South Africa in the 1990s. Following Bourdieu, one could argue that during apartheid the cultural hierarchy supporting apartheid elite power was also challenged by the non-elite (popular) anti-apartheid resistance. From the Bourdieuan perspective it would have been difficult for popular culture to affect change to the field of cultural production, the nature of elite cultural capital, and power relations in other fields in society.

It is thus possible to predict that arts journalists at a conservative elitist mainstream newspaper such as *Die Burger* during apartheid would, in the main, manufacture cultural capital in support of the existing cultural hierarchy. There are a few indications (discussed in Chapter 1) that some arts journalists at the newspaper during apartheid may have created oppositional discourses to apartheid hegemony. For argument's sake, however, the point is accepted here (momentarily) that the balance of coverage during apartheid did in fact support the maintenance of an elite cultural hierarchy.

According to Bourdieu, such an hierarchy would be arbitrary; in other words elite art is discursively constructed and recognised as superior (also by the non-elite). This is not because of any inherent distinguishing qualities but because the elite has the power to structure a cultural hierarchy according to their tastes with the explicit aim to exclude the non-elite. (The complicating factor of an added post-colonial hierarchy of Western imported arts and culture

versus traditional indigenous African art and culture will be left aside for the moment and introduced only later in this chapter).

But, as history clearly shows, fundamental change in South African society, including the cultural sphere, did occur in the 1990s. Does that mean that Bourdieu is wrong in claiming that popular culture is relatively powerless? The most obvious reply would be that Bourdieu did not deny the possibility of major field changes at all, but that it would probably originate in particular revolutionary circumstances from outside the field of cultural production (see discussion above in 2.6.1).

Another potential problem with Bourdieu's theory is that, according to the theoretical framework outlined above, cultural hierarchies in South Africa in the 1990s were probably both maintained and challenged by struggles between competing elites and not, as in Bourdieu's framework, (only) between the elite and the popular classes. The question thus arises how Bourdieu's alleged, rather static concept of a strict hierarchy between high and popular art[iv] will enable the analyses -- especially in a study such as this within a critical-cultural paradigm where the popular arts are often credited with emancipatory powers[v].

The point is thus: In South Africa (for example) during the 1990s, residues of apartheid elite arts and culture may have been dominant, but it was not totally insulated from the challenge and influence of popular culture and/or the culture mobilised by the new rising elite. As this study will show, hegemonic and counter-hegemonic cultural struggles in the 1990s affected the discursive boundaries around both what was regarded elite and popular during apartheid.

But does this mean that all cultural hierarchies have now disappeared? Lane (2000:40) shows how Bourdieu indicates in his book *Photography: A middle-brow art* (1990b) how a cultural practice "which technological progress has rendered affordable...nonetheless continued to be the site of class divisions and distinctions..." Therefore, the argument is that just because previously exclusive artistic terrain or practice becomes popularly accessible, does not mean that it cannot be hierarchically structured in existing and new ways. The key issue in this study is therefore a continued tension between conceptions of high and popular art despite widely accepted claims of the permanent demise of any hierarchy.

Weininger (2008:97) turns to the role of "an institutionally sanctioned, highly closed group of 'experts' or 'professionals'" (which, in this study, refers to arts journalists) to discuss Bourdieu's concept of the consecration (meaning "to confer legitimacy") of culture. The argument is that the consecration processes occur in "highly circumscribed institutional spaces (university departments, museums, galleries, auction houses etc.), communicative venues (journals, lectures, etc.), and interpersonal networks (artists' or journalists' cliques)" (*ibid.*). In other words, these groups of professionals control the consecration of high/elite art. Popular art is less controlled and thus retains the possibility for the working-class to challenge elite hierarchies. The problem is, however, that the working-class lack the required capital (for instance economic and cultural) to compete on an equal footing in the field of cultural production (and consumption). Bourdieu recognises that popular art can be consecrated but, as Weininger (2008:97) explains:

> …it must be remembered that the premise of a hierarchy of lifestyles cannot be falsified simply by pointing to the canonization of 'popular' (or once 'popular') forms of culture. Bourdieu is fully aware of such phenomena, but argues that the consecration of working-class cultural forms inevitably occurs by way of intellectuals or artists; endowed with different habitus, these cultural forms carry an entirely different meaning for them…."

It is thus valid criticism to deduce from the above that Bourdieu is pessimistic about the ability of popular art and literature, including some forms of arts journalism, to affect change. But it is important to engage with the complexity of his position, which did not result from a celebration of high art either. His political concerns clearly position him as champion of inclusivity on different levels (Lane, 2000:201). That does not mean, however, that Bourdieu accepted radical relativism. As Bennett (2005) argues, Bourdieu (1984) wanted to break down the Kantian barrier between high aesthetics, pure and refined pleasure, art-for-arts sake, and, so-called sensual pleasures connected to popular tastes. Comparable to Bertolt Brecht's[vi] use of "epic theatre" to "alienate" audiences (Demetz, 1962:3), Bourdieu's (1984) aim was to show that judgments of taste are socially produced in a specific historical context and tied to specific class positions.

Bourdieu was seemingly caught between two beliefs. On the one hand, he argued that arts, culture, and taste are arbitrary constructs with "no objective function other than the

legitimation of the dominant class's social distinction" (Lane, 2000:185). On the other hand, Bourdieu believed that "the relative autonomy enjoyed by artists and intellectuals" meant they possessed the potential for "subversive alliances" with the dominated classes, "capable of threatening the social order, through struggles to impose a new vision and division of the social world" (*ibid*.).

Although Bourdieu's democratic idealism cannot be denied, it seems clear that he remained pessimistic about the potential and ability of the dominated classes to affect change on their own. In that sense he could be considered elitist, but it was probably a sentiment strengthened by the growing tendency in cultural theory to over-emphasise the role and value of popular culture. As Lane (2000:164) summarises:

> It is not necessary to deny marginalised groups' capacity for formal aesthetic invention in order to share Bourdieu's concern at the tendency of certain intellectuals to exaggerate the liberating potential of popular cultural forms.

Fowler (2000:6), on the other hand, is adamant that Bourdieu's view should "not be confused with the facile postmodernism that proclaims a radical collapse of the high/low divisions". She claims that Bourdieu never claimed that the differentiation between the "audiences of the restricted and the wide scale market is being dramatically eroded (*ibid*.). Fowler (2000:6-7) argues that Bourdieu's analysis of the "contemporary restricted market" describes the inability of so-called *avant-garde* artists to affect change because their efforts to "subvert the persistence of consecrated art" are doomed to be read only as "artistic events". This is an interesting point because even if one considers arts journalism part of elite, rather than popular culture as in part of the argument above, it would still seem relatively incapable to affect change according to this reading of Bourdieu. This is a different argument from the classic view associated with Bourdieu -- namely that elite art is effective in preventing change.

In response to criticism of his alleged elitism, Bourdieu has conceded that popular art can become consecrated, but only when it is no longer popular (Fowler, 2000:15). She continues (*ibid.*):

> Such a concession is telling but insufficient. Bourdieu's thesis still over-simplifies the wider struggles over popular art. In my view, it has underestimated the potential for reflexivity within the cultural field and ignored the differentiated responses to popular culture...

But after considering Bourdieu's ambivalent stance towards education and legitimate culture[vii], it would still seem that he was enough of a democrat in practice to point out the persistent snobbery of society in theory -- possibly even including his own. Or, as Fowler (2000:14) summarises:

> Various critics have noted the clash between Bourdieu's sympathies with working-class people and his failure to accept that there is a thing as popular art...

Following Bourdieu, this study experiences similar fundamental tension on the issue of the high/popular art divide. On the one hand, this study accepts that the erosion of the formal distinction between high and popular art has created emancipatory opportunities for (previously) marginalised groups and individuals. On the other hand, this study shares Bourdieu's caution about the ability of the arts (both elite and popular) to affect radical field changes in the face of elite hegemony. This does not mean that radical field changes are not possible (South Africa in the 1990s clearly illustrates the possibility) but care should be taken not to ascribe the sole or even predominant contributing source of change to culture.

The most important aspect flowing from the discussion, is the insight that Bourdieu's cultural positioning rather turns on criticism of the division between an arbitrary hierarchy of elite versus popular art and culture than a deterministic and fatalistic believe that the hierarchy cannot be affected or changed. Change is possible because of the relative independence of fields and sub-fields of cultural production and the dynamic relationships between agents who struggle perpetually for their visions of society to gain hegemony.

2.6.7 Bourdieu and postmodern culture

Although Bourdieu's commitment to democratic politics seems clear (Wacquant, 2005), Prior (2005:135) still argues that Bourdieu has only considered the "transformative effects" of high

art seriously and that he characterised mass or popular in a "rather one-dimensional" way. It is also noted that Bourdieu's disregard for popular culture "serves to reproduce inequalities" while the absence of any nuanced reference to "pop art, multi-media art or popular literature...is glaring" (*ibid.*) in his work. He continues (*ibid.*):

> ....the overall thrust of Bourdieu's analysis of art becomes less powerful the further one moves away from the great ruptures of the nineteenth century, and particularly in the light of highly-commodified, mass-mediated, visually-intensified societies.

Although Prior (2005:130) thus gives Bourdieu's harshest critics some credit, he does not agree for a complete rejection of his cultural theory because Bourdieu "comes closest to providing a comprehensive overview of the economy of symbolic practices, including the function of modern art fields". (On the other hand he also does not fully agree with the renowned enthusiasm of Lash -- who famously called Bourdieu's theory on culture "not only the best, but the only game in town" [*ibid.*]). Prior (2005:136) rather argues that it is "better to start with Bourdieu's categories in order to warp them than to start with a postmodern social theory that, in its quest for social-science fiction, outstrips the social and leaves reality trailing".

This study does not endorse Prior's (2005) seemingly untroubled distinction between modern and postmodern theory or the sentiment that postmodern theory would simply turn towards social-science fiction. But the general trend of the argument is accepted in as far as it suggests the adaptation and incorporation of Bourdieu's theory with related theories on its parameters -- such as that of Foucault on discourse and Gramsci on hegemony.

Prior (2005:123) refers to arguments included in a so-called postmodern approach that commodification has eroded the boundaries between art and popular culture and placed museums "alongside shopping malls within the realms of consumption and entertainment". According to this view a new audience, with a new view of culture that is neither cultivated nor popular, has emerged, as well as the so-called cultural omnivore who moves between different forms previously considered high and low. This would suggest that Bourdieu's "overly integrated account of class and cognition" must be reviewed in order to describe a shift where an "aesthetics of distinction is replaced by a culture of distraction" (p.123). I

would however argue here that the replacement of the concept of distinction is in fact premature.

Rather -- in pointing to the link between commodification and the perceived disappearance of the gap between high/elite and popular/low art in Western societies -- Prior (2005) thus reveals the fault lines in an argument that emphasises the liberating and democratising power of so-called popular art. Perhaps Bourdieu could have accounted for the shift regarding high and popular culture more clearly, as his critics argue, but by the same token some of his postmodern critics often fail to account for the ongoing distinctions -- often in the form of what Bourdieu called symbolic violence -- created by intersections of cultural, economic, political, and symbolic power. In short, although Bourdieu may have overstated the role of institutions to create clear and fixed cultural hierarchies and the inability of popular audience to challenge and affect change, some of his postmodern critics are overwhelmed by the power of market and the consumer.

But rather than setting up Bourdieu against so-called postmodern scholars, I would argue that Prior's (2005:125) following suggestion for a research question in this regard seems most helpful:

> How, in complex [Western] societies like ours, are categories of high art and popular culture ordered, classified and reclassified?

As indicated by the parenthesis above, one must bear in mind that this discussion clearly referred to a predominantly Western context, and that one of the strongest arguments against any Western reading of cultural theory is that this study focuses squarely on developments in a post-colonial African country. As indicated above, the issue of shifting cultural markers -- such as elite and popular -- within a changing South African society will feature centrally in the discussion of the positioning of arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999).

2.6.8 Bourdieu and post-colonialism

With regard to the statements above, it is necessary to inquire whether seminal colonial discourse and post-colonial scholars such as Said (1994), Bhabha (1994), Appiah (1993), and Spivak (see Spivak & Harasym, 1990) are not theoretically "closer" to the South African post-

colonial and post-apartheid context of this study than the likes of Western theorists such as Bourdieu, Foucault, and Gramsci. But a counter-argument is that post-colonial theory is really not far removed from the Western centre of intellectual dominance after all. For example, Said (1994) is highly indebted to Foucault while other post-colonial scholars often depart from Western paradigms in their critiques of colonialism. It is admittedly very difficult for the (post)colonised to respond to colonialisation without ever referring to a colonial intellectual and cultural legacy. In Said's (1994) view, the discourses of the (former) colonial rulers and (formerly) colonised are often two sides of the same coin.

Secondly, there is the issue of more or less direct links between some Western scholars and experiences of colonialism and post-colonialism. Ahluwalia's (2010) points to the fact that many post-structuralist French intellectuals have a strong "colonial" connection, usually with Algeria. In Bourdieu's terms a colonial experience is part of their habitus, albeit it in the main as members of the dominant class. But especially Bourdieu and Foucault were motivated by strong opposition to French colonial rule in North Africa. Ahluwalia's (2010) argument that French (post-) structuralism in fact has colonial and post-colonial roots is therefore accepted in this study.

Still, an admittedly very limited application of the post-colonial scholarship of Said (1994) and Appiah (1993) will contribute to the theory of culture in this study. Both scholars depend strongly on the idea of the "hybridity" of culture, in other words that it is a mistake to distinguish rigidly between imported colonial culture on one side and indigenous traditional culture on the other side in colonial and post-colonial societies. In the South African post-colonial and post-apartheid context such an effort to could probably require a form of "fundamentalist return" -- precisely what Said (1994[viii]) warns against. Said (1994: xiv) explains:

> These 'returns' accompany rigorous codes of intellectual and moral behaviour that are opposed to the permissiveness associated with such relatively liberal philosophies as multiculturalism and hybridity. In the formerly colonised world, these 'returns' have produced varieties of religious and nationalist fundamentalism[ix].

The other side of the coin, according to Said (1994), is that the descendents of the former colonial rulers -- and arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) can be included in this broad category -- develop/maintain an imperialist mindset. The imperialist mindset, according to Said (1994), displays itself in the xenophobic "othering" of cultural combatants, a theme that will be examined in the textual analysis in Chapter 5. It will also become clear whether and how the imperialist mindset is related to expressions of what Said (1994) calls post-colonial fundamentalism -- in other words emerging cultural elites in search of a non-existent pre-colonial essence and purity.

I would argue that Said's (1994) view on culture and imperialism opens the door to another theoretical option, arguably somewhere between the essentialism of Eurocentric versus Afro-centric approaches. Firstly, Said (1994) clearly described why it is likely for post-colonial societies to be more or less trapped in discourses of their previous rulers. They are in fact still dealing with "lingering imperialism[x]" (Said 1994) when talking about African resistance to Western influences. Said (1994:8) explains:

> In our time, direct colonialism has largely ended; imperialism…lingers where it has always been, in a kind of general cultural sphere as well as in specific political, ideological, economic, and social practices.

Incorporating these various theoretical insights enables one to track the re-positioning of, for example, jazz in post-apartheid South Africa. On the one hand, at least some arts journalists at *Die Burger* during apartheid seemed to regard (mainstream American) jazz as an elite art form alongside Western classical music (see Human, 2010). African jazz, on the other hand, was mainly associated with the marginalised -- popular and poor -- black majority. After 1990 African jazz become associated with elite political and subsequently also economic power, and was included in the mainstream (elite) media -- including traditional white-dominated media such as *Die Burger* (see Devroop & Walton, 2007; Coplan, 2008). Although American mainstream jazz and blues was mostly enjoyed and respected as part of the same tradition, a predominance of its alleged elitist American mainstream (concert) version and/or artists from America on South African festival programmes was sometimes frowned upon because it was not distinctly (South) African (jazz).

In Chapter 3 cultural debates of the 1990s will be contextualised with particular reference to the added complicating factor (for *Die Burger*) of the relationship between arts journalists and Afrikaans/Afrikaner culture -- and its place and role in particular shifting South African cultural hierarchies.

2.7 Summary

In this chapter the theoretical framework of this study was firstly outlined by referring to the field theory of Bourdieu and the discourse theory of Foucault. Journalism -- and particularly arts journalism -- was situated in the field of cultural production as theorised by Bourdieu, while Foucault's concept of discourse contributed to a better understanding of the power relations involved in micro-level arts journalism.

Both Bourdieu and Foucault have tried in their own way to bridge the theoretical gap between structure and agency and produced valuable, related concepts in the process. In the case of Bourdieu it is habitus -- embodied socialisation (Bourdieu, 1989) -- while Foucault referred to the "cultural unconscious" (May & Powell, 2007) or the "unsaid" (Callinicos, 1989) that informs discourse on a pre-discursive level. In this study these concepts will be used to analyse the biographical and educational background of arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) in an effort to describe the basis of their arbitrary judgments of taste and values.

At this stage the last contribution to the theoretical framework, Gramsci's (1996 [1975]) concept of hegemony, finally came into focus -- especially the role of arts journalists to "manufacture consent" (Herman & Chomsky, 1994) and/or challenge hegemonic discourses. Bourdieu and Foucault also share a point of general criticism -- of their respective theories of power -- that it is unfocused and dispersed and unable to account well for social change (see Johnson, 1993). In the light of the focus of this study on arts journalism in a period of profound transition in South African society, it seems pertinent to use the theory of hegemony to describe covert cultural power struggles between different interest groups.

The discussion then turned to Bourdieu's theory of cultural hierarchies. Seemingly, for many of Foucault's postmodern/ poststructural followers at least, the divide between high and popular/ low art has miraculously disappeared since World War II. Although this study accepted criticism that Bourdieu's work on culture may not adequately allow for radical

transformation, it shared Bourdieu's suspicion of theories which ascribe principle or major mobilisation power to popular culture.

Still, because Bourdieu's work originated in a Western paradigm, the question was raised and discussed whether seminal post-colonial scholars such as Said (1994) would not have provided a stronger base for a study of South African arts journalism after apartheid. Although some of Said's (1994) key insights around culture, such as hybridity and the imperialist mindset, were accepted in the end and will be used in this study, the chapter closed with an affirmation that Bourdieu and Foucault provide the basis for a flexible theoretical framework for the analysis of the discourses and practices of arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999).

Chapter 3: Literature review

3.1 Introduction: Gaps in the field of research

A thorough database search on the internet, including the NRF-Nexus, Sabinet, Google, and Google Scholar search engines, as well as the catalogue of the J.S. Gericke library of Stellenbosch University, indicates that arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) has not been the exclusive focal point of an academic study before. In addition, Bourdieu's field theory has not been applied to a study of Afrikaans-language arts journalism before. There are a few academic studies, articles, and books in which arts and cultural journalism at *Die Burger* are included to a greater or lesser extent. Amongst these there is no study at PhD level which focuses on Afrikaans arts and cultural journalism after 1994[xi]. This study therefore makes a significant contribution to the field of knowledge.

In an MPhil-thesis (Botma, 2006a), and a subsequent article (Botma, 2006b), I included arts journalism at *Die Burger* (2004-2005) in a study of the post-apartheid political economic positioning of the paper and its publisher, Media 24, and owner, Naspers. Building on that study, I furthermore published a research article that included discussions of and/or references to arts journalism at *Die Burger* and *Huisgenoot,* a popular magazine in the Media24 stable (see Botma 2008b).

Beukes (1992) deals with an historic overview of Nasionale Pers (Naspers) in *Oor grense heen: Op pad na 'n nasionale pers, 1948-1990* and touches only briefly on the role of arts and culture journalism at the company. Beukes & Steyn (1992) are more to the point in their focus on the history of book publishing and reviewing within Naspers affiliates, including *Die Burger*. However, because their analysis in *Boekewêreld: Die Nasionale Pers in die uitgewersbedryf tot 1990* only goes as far as the starting date of this study, Beukes & Steyn (1992) provided background material only. The same applies to *Die betekenis van Die Burger vir die Afrikaanse letterkunde,* in which Steyn (1990) describes and interprets the role of *Die Burger* in the development of Afrikaans literature before 1990.

The field of arts journalism in South Africa in general is also under-researched. Besides a "baseline" study in 2006 by the Media Monitoring Project (MMP) on South African arts journalism (which will be discussed in some detail below in 3.5), little research on arts

journalism in South Africa has been published. In this section a number of relevant studies are mentioned only briefly because the pertinent issues that they address will be by highlighted in various sections below.

In 2008 Clarissa Snapper completed her Masters degree in History of Art at the University of Witwatersrand with the research report "Beginning with criticism: An analysis of the first four volumes of Art South Africa". The study concentrated on *Art South Africa*, the "leading, professionally published art magazine in South Africa" in an effort to "describe the type of art texts it presents and the particular position it has taken in the contemporary art world of South Africa" (Snapper, 2008:i). In comparison to this study, Snapper (2008) has a more limited view of arts journalism because of her specific focus on the coverage of fine arts only. Still, her study provides some valuable insight into recent national and international developments in the theory and practice of art criticism.

Darryl Rule completed his Masters degree in Journalism and Media Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand in 2006 with the thesis "Cultural reporting and the production of cultural reviews in selected South African newspapers: A case study of jazz music and musicians". Rule (2006) relies heavily on the "base-line" report of the Media Monitoring Project (MMP, 2006) and comes to similar conclusions about the commercialisation of the public sphere and the changing role of arts journalism (see discussion in 3.5 below).

Wasserman (2004) bases his research article on a controversial incident in Afrikaans arts journalism at the Klein Karoo National Arts Festival in 2002 and enters into a general ethical debate on the role of arts journalism in South Africa. He argues that art journalists need to engage in ongoing and in-depth debate about their ethical responsibility in order for them to remain relevant in the context of commercialisation, on one hand, and a changing society on the other.

In 1995 E.A.Botha completed the Masters degree in Communication Science at Rand Afrikaans University with the study " 'n Joernalistieke studie van die kunsresensie met die klem op afrosentriese teaterresensies" (A journalistic study of the art review with emphasis on Afrocentric theatre reviews). Indicating that the study investigates the "relatively undeveloped field of art journalism in South Africa", it focused on one aspect within the field -- art reviews in popular and specialised publications (Botha, 1995:1). Botha's (1995) narrow functionalist

focus and quantitative methods stood in the way of a meaningful contextual study of South African arts journalism during apartheid. The fact that the political stance of particular reviewers and their respective newspapers did not always correspond, as Botha (1995) found and could not account for, could actually be an indication of one of the departure points of this study: the seeming tension between arts and political journalists at *Die Burger* during at least the latter part of the apartheid years.

In 2008 Johann van Heerden completed the degree DPhil at Stellenbosch University with his dissertation "Some major trends in South African theatre from 1994 to 2003". Although his methodology depended largely on the content analysis of media and public responses to theatrical events in that period, it would be difficult to argue that the findings might be applied directly to trends in (arts) journalism as well. However, Van Heerden's (2008) findings contribute to an understanding of the context of cultural transformation in the research period partially relevant to this study -- and especially how political and economic factors are an integral part of the process of cultural transformation.

In the end, a search of the electronic databases of Stellenbosch University (SU), the National Research Foundation (NRF), and Sabinet delivered only one valuable contribution that referred to Bourdieu's work in the study of journalism. In1999 L. Fordred completed the degree PhD in English at the University of Cape Town with his thesis "Narrative, conflict and change: Journalism in the New South Africa". Fordred studied "the journalism of violent events in Kwa-Zula-Natal and the East Rand" (Fordred, 1999:iv) during South Africa's democratic transition (1994-1997). Fordred (1999:219) suggests a focus on the cultural politics of the media industry, rather than attempting to speculate on its motives and political intentions.

In view of the lack of local research both on arts journalism and on Bourdieu's theory in the analysis of local journalism, I have widened the literature review to include studies on the role of South African journalism in recent social change. With regard to this general theme the following relevant academic study was consulted: In 1996 C. Faure completed the degree D Litt et Phil with the dissertation "Ondersoekende joernalistiek en sosiale verandering: 'n ontleding en evaluering van die agendastellingsrol van *Vrye Weekblad* (1988-1993)" (Exploratory journalism and social change: An analysis and evaluation of the agenda setting role of *Vrye Weekblad* [1988-1993]) at the University of South Africa.

Faure (1996) examines the possible or apparent influence of investigative journalism on the process of social change. It is argued that in certain cases newspaper articles, due to investigative reporting, can create an awareness of injustices and/or wrongful acts in society, and that this journalistic practice can be a contributing factor or even a catalyst for government action and eventual social change. Faure's (1996) attempt to reconcile theoretical perspectives on social change and the influence of the media with the empiric analyses of newspaper content also serves as an example here.

By using these and other relevant sources for a thorough literature review, the following chapter will firstly provide a general overview of transformation in the South African media in the 1990s. The argument is that as part of the field of journalism, arts journalism at *Die Burger* was influenced by and influenced the media field as a whole. A summary of the post-colonial and post-apartheid cultural debate is then provided, because changes in arts journalism also took place against the backdrop of larger processes of cultural transformation, including changing discourses. This will be followed by an overview of the role of arts journalism in societies in transition. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of arts journalism at *Die Burger* before 1990. In the process the relationship between the arts and democracy, and the nature, role, and place of arts journalism therein, will be addressed in full.

3.2 Media transformation

Fourie (2008:106) argues that South Africa was exposed to "fundamental political, economic, social and cultural change" in the 1990s. Society was in transition from a "semi-authoritarian to a democratic order in line with Western principles of democracy" and the South African media was "not left intact" (*ibid.*). According to Fourie (2008:106) the ongoing process was:

> changing the racial composition of the SA media from predominantly white to black (in terms of regulation, ownership, and workforce), and of instituting and revising new regulatory policies in line with international policy trends and developments ...under the same pressure…challenges and opportunities as the media in Western societies, where trends such as liberalisation, privatisation, commercialisation, convergence, and globalisation dictate a move from the media as a cultural institution to a market-driven one.

In terms of Bourdieu's field theory, the process relates to a change in the structural composition of the field of the media and journalism -- under external influences which amongst others changed the "exchange rate" of different types of capital in the field. For instance, changes in the field of power in the 1990s affected the political, economic, and cultural standing of *Die Burger* both in and outside the media field (more about this later) so that it ceased to have the same "currency" as before.

Ownership changes brought associated ideological shifts in the South African media, especially the print media during the 1990s, according to Tomaselli (2000). Before restructuring started in the first part of the decade, the press was in extreme positions: pro- or anti-apartheid. The Afrikaans press (including *Die Burger*) was predominantly a mouthpiece for the NP, which promoted Afrikaner capital accumulation and suppressed black interests (*ibid*). In the broadcast media the state-controlled SABC dominated with its language-specific radio and TV stations, correlating with ethnic groupings and so-called homelands (*ibid.*).

Faure (1996:110) observes that although media scholars such as Doherty, Louw, and Tomaselli have expressed doubt that the mainstream English press (owned by white capital) was truly in favour of fundamental change during apartheid, the NP government always considered them as *de facto* opposition. Whatever the case, Afrikaners were certainly exposed to conventional pro-government newspapers for most of the apartheid period. Faure (1996:23) refers to Gramsci's concept of hegemony, another key element in this study, in explaining how Afrikaans schools, churches, interest groups, and mass media were promoting apartheid ideology in accordance with the views of the ruling elite, often without being overtly forced to do so.

A need amongst some Afrikaans newspaper readers for an alternative to "dated National Party (NP) inspired news coverage" (Faure, 1996:2) developed over time. This study's point of departure is similar -- namely that some readers found those alternative voices and discourses not necessarily on the pages of alternative newspapers alone, such as *Vrye Weekblad*, which struggled throughout to survive with a small circulation, but also on the arts and culture pages of the otherwise conservative/rightwing *Die Burger*.

Jacobs (2003:240) states that, media "for and by black people as well as by politically Left groupings" during apartheid operated on the "margins of an essentially white, conservative media". He argues that this structure "...changed gradually since 1990, with a number of fundamental changes happening after 1994" (*ibid.*). According to Jacobs, the most profound changes happened in broadcasting where the state broadcaster, the SABC, was transformed into a public service broadcaster. He continues (*ibid.*):

> Although debates rage over the mandate of the SABC, there is broad societal agreement that the SABC needs to be prevented from lapsing again into a state propaganda machine.

In this study the transformation of broadcasting and the SABC is not directly at issue but nevertheless features as part of the broader South African media field in which different role players compete for various forms of capital (in Bourdieu's sense). The same holds true for other media sectors and institutions which are briefly addressed here.

Although Jacobs (2003) remains critical of the continued marginalisation of the poor in the post-apartheid media landscape, he also views changes in the post-apartheid print media sector as "for the better" because "partisan print media transformed themselves to 'independent' media in search of legitimacy and market share" (p.240). However, arts journalism at *Die Burger* was arguably negatively affected by commercialisation (see discussion below in 3.4).

The restructuring process in the 1990s went through different stages, according to Tomaselli (2000). In the commercial press, firstly, the black struggle for economic empowerment included large ownership transactions, such as the sale by the English Argus group of the prominent newspaper *Sowetan* to the black empowerment company Nail. Interestingly enough, the Afrikaner company, Sanlam (close to Naspers and *Die Burger* during apartheid), also became a stakeholder in Nail. According to Tomaselli (2000), this signalled that commercial interests were replacing internal ideological struggles in the post-apartheid media and business dispensation.

In a second stage of media restructuring, the Argus group was bought by Irish businessman Tony O'Reilly. His company, Independent Newspapers, also bought the media interests of the

local rival Times Media Limited group -- a move that brought much of the English press under his control. Tomaselli (2000) views this as an indication that the globalisation process also affected the South African media in the 1990s.

In a third stage of restructuring, the National Empowerment Consortium (NEC), of which Nail (now owning *Sowetan*) formed part, bought Johnnic from the mining giant Anglo American (with interests in book retail, music, pay-television, and print). This meant that black-dominated capital gained control of 10 percent of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE). The move was also hailed as a step towards greater diversification of media, although the counter-argument was that this was a concentration of media power by a constituency aligned to the ANC (Tomaselli, 2000).

A fourth stage of restructuring involved the Afrikaans press, closer to the focal point of this study, directly. In 1996/97 Naspers formed new firms and sold shares to black-owned companies in a move described by Tomaselli (2000) as a departure from concentrated ownership in print media and a break with practices of English versus Afrikaner capital. Hadland (2007:15) summarises:

> The mainstream sector itself underwent a massive overhaul as black and foreign capital entered the marketplace for the first time seizing control of a variety of significant media enterprises, including Times Media Limited (TML) and the Argus Publishing and Printing Company. By contrast, Nasionale Pers (Naspers), a formerly unilingual and politically partisan newspaper group, expanded into an imposing, multi-platform, multilingual global presence with media activities in some 50 countries.

According to Hadland (2007:16), one of the "most striking trends" in the post-1994 period has been the "commercialization" of the South African print media sector (see also Botma, 2006a; Bennetts, 2004; Duncan, 2003; Steenveld, 2004; Tomaselli, 2000). This resulted in the "blurring of advertising material and editorial content" which has become "endemic in the print sector as a whole with significant consequences for media status as well as for the industry's long-term financial health" (Hadland, 2007:16). The influence of commercialisation on arts journalism was touched on in Chapter 1 and will be discussed in more detail below (see also Botma, 2006a; MMP, 2006).

Fordred (1999:1) argues that simultaneously with the shift to market-driven principles the "epistemological grounds of the news industry have shifted greatly...." Fordred (1999:1). He continues:

> Ostensibly rooted firmly in modernist realism and objectivity, the truth- claims of journalists have been radically challenged by postmodernism and post-colonialism...demonstrating that news journalism is not neutral, impartial, non-political, or gender-free.

In other words, the patriarchal foundation of truth and knowledge on which colonialism was built was also challenged within the practice of journalism. In Chapter 1, I indicated that this *zeitgeist* also affected arts journalism.

Although Tomaselli (2000) applauds the "extraordinary" shifts in political allegiance as a result of the restructuring of media companies, he also criticises the fact that the public sphere was increasingly organised by profit-driven organisations. Along with Jacobs (2003) and Bennetts (2004), he argues that replacing whites with blacks in the corporate press did not solve the problem of structural inequality or increase diversity of opinion. Because the media had to serve markets to survive, regardless of the race of media owners, they would serve capitalist interests and perpetuate class-based social formation.

This meant that the working-class and the poor would be excluded because the financial survival of a newspaper was determined by readers and advertisers. For *Die Burger* in the post-apartheid era this issue would become particularly problematic because while the newspaper tried to gain legitimacy amongst its previously marginalised coloured readership (political and symbolic capital) and to build its circulation (economic capital), these communities were often less affluent (see Botma, 2006a).

Tomaselli (2000) argues that even if the press would become radically more inclusive, the class structure would remain until a radical shift in ideology occurred. It was also a mistake to think that a black-controlled press would mobilise and channel African values and traditions. Besides the fact that such a view would ascribe to the media more influence than it had, it also rested on an essentialist basis of thought and culture. The argument is that the media, under

the influence of globalisation, would rather homogenise African societies for pragmatic political and economic reasons.

In the case of *Die Burger*, the issue was arguably even more complex because its political, social, and cultural positioning was affected by both the divisive legacy of apartheid and the pressures and demands to overcome these divisions in the 1990s. In short, its economic and cultural capital was anchored in white Afrikaners, but both these forms of capital were under threat unless the newspaper could harness the political and symbolic capital of previously marginalised, and, in general, less affluent, so-called coloured readers.

Jacobs (2003:237) agrees that ownership changes did not result in the opening up of the media, although it did make staffing more representative. He argues that the structure of print media (circulation, distribution networks, price structure, and advertising) was still aimed at retaining a predominantly affluent white readership. Thus the colour of monopolies have changed, but the process served at best only a black elite and market segments still coincided with racial divisions (Jacobs, 2003:145). In this study the tension between ownership/management (structure) and staffing (agency) will be addresses by referring to Bourdieu's theory of habitus (see Chaper 2).

Although the new government did try to boost community media through the establishment of the Media Development Diversity Agency (MDDA), and a community broadcasting tier in public service broadcasting, community media struggled to survive as foreign funding decreased. This meant that the media were not yet a forum for debate between all citizens, only between the elite. Thus media debates centered on individual rights, rather than on the rights of the democratic collective -- for instance the socio-economic rights of the poor (Jacobs, 2003:243-244).

Arguably one of the biggest shifts affecting media transformation in the 1990s was the growth and development of information communication technologies (ICTs) and the reputed rise of the "information society" (Webster, 1995), also called "network society" (Castells, 2000; Van Dijk, 2006). The mainstream commercial South African media industry, including *Die Burger*, quickly incorporated new computing, design and printing technologies that led to a transformation of editorial and production processes. Towards the end of the decade internet access and e-mail communication became standard newsroom features for arts journalists at

Die Burger. Increasingly the relationship between arts journalists and their sources was affected, while the local spread of especially international popular culture was arguably accelerated. At the same time African interest groups tried to find ways to access the mainstraim media through these new channels as well, although their often unfavourable position in the so-called "digital divide" (Flew, 2008) posed a serious threat of further marginalisation.

An occurrence which arguably influenced and changed the post-apartheid print media sector drastically -- the introduction and phenomenal rise of tabloid newspapers aimed at poor, black, and so-called coloured communities (Wasserman, 2010a) -- will not be considered here because it happened after 2000 and thus does not form part of the research focus. However, it must be noted that the biggest tabloid papers were owned by the biggest existing media conglomerates, Naspers and Independent Newspapers, thus raising questions about the extent of their involvement in and commitment to a radical transformation of a political and economic system that clearly favours the owners of these titles (but not necessarily their readers).

3.3 Post-colonial and post-apartheid culture

In the South African media context two significant historical periods and processes of political, social, economic, and cultural transition can be distinguished. The first is a shift from a colonial to a post-colonial society, and the second from apartheid to post-apartheid. It must be recognised, however, that this strict and clear division can exist in theory alone because in practice these categories are interlinked and overlapping. For instance, while British colonialism arguably officially ended when South Africa became a union in 1910 -- or at the latest when a republic was proclaimed in 1961-- apartheid can be considered a special/continued form of colonialism from the perspective of the marginalised black population. (The South African Communist Party [SACP] frequently referred to apartheid as "colonialism of a special type" -- see Nzimande [2006].) In turn, colonialism already introduced a form of apartheid in terms of its policies and practices of racial discrimination, segregation, and exploitation.

The next section will therefore consider the cultural legacy of colonialism and apartheid together. The aim here is also not to provide a detailed overview of historical periods but to

discuss cultural perceptions linked to particular theoretical concepts. Important symbolic signifiers in the cultural discourses of post-colonialism and post-apartheid South Africa will be addressed. The discussion refers in the main to the well-known distinction and perceived tension between African/indigenous/popular/traditional and Western/imported/modern/elite cultural traditions and how that dichotomy was transferred to a changing South African context in the 1990s.

3.3.1 African/indigenous and European/imported

It would seem that symbolic signification through culture and language (and thus also the mass media) played a major role during colonialism. Murphy (2007:3) argues:

> ....even though colonization was based on control of structural and material relationships and secured through military, economic, and political forces, it took root and 'made sense' (or at least, was made sense of) through culture and language.

According to Murphy (2007:3), understanding the colonial legacy of many developing nations is important as it:

> ...not only tells us about a given nation's past, and elements of its 'deep structure', but also helps us to construct a fuller appreciation for how democracy is being elaborated and in relation to what sorts of cultural 'ingredients' (e.g., religion, ethnic minorities, immigration patterns, linguistic groups).

In other words, in order to better understand the process of transition to democracy in South Africa, and the role and position of culture and the media therein, colonial influences must be considered. On the surface the cultural legacy of both colonialism and apartheid manifests itself in a persistent dichotomy between African/indigenous and elite/modern/Westernized arts and culture.

Barber (1997:1) provides a definition of traditional indigenous (and often popular) African and modern Westernized (and often elite) culture in a post-colonial African context.

Traditional culture is defined as "purely oral, expressed in exclusively indigenous African languages or images, and coming from or alluding to the pre-colonial past" while elite/modern/Westernized culture is "inhabiting a world formed by higher education, full mastery of European languages and representational conventions, defined by its cultural proximity to the metropolitan centers, and addressed to a minority but 'international' audience".

In terms of this definition, the legacy of imperialism, colonialism, and apartheid has meant the importation of international arts and culture -- especially from the West -- to South Africa. The status of so-called indigenous African arts and culture in South Africa was directly affected by democratisation in 1994 in that the ANC-led government embarked on a programme to promote previously marginalised cultures and arts forms. The underlying argument seems to have been that so-called Eurocentric culture had to be supplemented by indigenous cultural forms and traditions (see White paper, 1996). But this perspective is problematic for at least two reasons: The first has to do with the contested view of a clear dichotomy between African and Western traditions in a post-colonial society and the second with the enduring tension between so-called elite and popular art in cultural debates. A third element (the role and position of Afrikaans/Afrikaner culture in this context) will be addressed separately in 3.5.2 below.

Barber (1997:1) argues that elite and traditional have "some preliminary heuristic use, not least because they are becoming categories that cultural producers in Africa themselves use to describe and understand the cultural universe within which they operate". However, because "overuse has given them a spurious solidity", the African cultural sphere is often presented as being divided into the above mentioned two halves. She continues (*ibid.*):

> It is sometimes even assumed that the latter, in each case, 'emerged from' or 'grew out of' the former, in an improbable evolutionary progression, as if the traditional gives birth to, and is automatically superseded by, the modern, Westernized, elite forms.

Barber (1997:2) states that "a vast domain of cultural production...straddles and dissolves distinctions" and "undermine the binary paradigm of 'African culture'" in the process. Echoing Said (1994), Murphy (2007:3) states that colonialism involved not only physical

occupation and the extraction of resources but also a period of "intense cultural syncretism" that "foreshadowed current processes of cultural hybridization unfolding today..." (According to Abercrombie & Longhurst [2007:173] hybridization refers to "the process by which different cultures, or aspects of different cultures, come together to form new combinations or hybrids".)

But as Barber (1997) indicates, liberation from colonialism and apartheid did not lead to recognition that cultural hybridity -- and not a historically constructed dichotomy -- was the characteristic of post-colonial African societies. In fact, the traditional/Western duality was maintained and employed in hegemonic struggles by a new African elite. Said (1994) refers to this process as fundamentalist returns (see Chapter 2).

The predominance of the categories "traditional" and "elite/Westernized/modern" arose, according to Barber (1997:1), in "conditions defined by the extension of global capitalism on the one hand and the assertion of cultural nationalism by African elites on the other". She points to a contradiction for "nationalist African elites" in that, on the one hand, the celebration of traditional culture was "an affirmation of self-worth, an assertion that African civilizations long had their own artistic glories to compare with those of the colonizers". On the other hand "the possession of a substantial Europhone literature was a simultaneous demonstration of mastery, progress and modernity". Importantly for this study, Barber (1997:1) then addresses the role of (literary) critic in this regard:

> And to both the Western literary critic and the nationalist elite in Africa, this literature's distinctive Africanity, its 'otherness', had to be vouched for; and this was done by an appeal to the supposed underlying presence of the great African oral traditions, as origin and influence. Thus, between them, art history and literary criticism have tended to construct a world of 'African culture' represented by works which arrange themselves easily into an overarching binary paradigm. And however outmoded this paradigm may now seem, it lurks on -- made visible, for example...in the dissemination and celebration of the arts by official cultural and educational apparatuses in Africa itself.

Thus, it would seem that it is not only political agents with strategic aims who are responsible for the persistence of a simplistic dichotomy but also literary critics (and, by implication, arts

journalists). In South Africa arts journalists sustained the same African essensialism, as the discussion of the Media Monitoring Project report of 2006 below will show.

In post-apartheid South Africa the role of arts journalists is particularly complex. The liberation movements, including the ANC, and their international supporters and donors used arts and culture as a vehicle for the struggle. As a result, arts critics had to take a position in relation to that. When apartheid ended, many arts journalists, as well as artists, experienced disempowerment through the perception of a loss of cultural, economic, symbolic, and social capital (see MMP [2006] and the discussion below).

Snapper (2008:12) refers to "one of the most significant moments for art in the beginning of a democratic South Africa" -- a "seminal speech", titled "Preparing ourselves for freedom", delivered by a veteran of the liberation struggle (Albie Sachs), in 1990. In that speech at an ANC conference on arts and culture, Sachs, who after 1994 become a Constitutional Court judge, emphasised the need for a "new conception of art in the free South Africa" and an end to "solidarity criticism" (Sachs, 1990). This meant that, after struggling for a democratic society, "critics and artists must feel that they are free to explore and critique rather than affirm every part of culture in the name of 'unity'". Sachs called for a ban on the phrase "art as a tool for the struggle", which was the Brechtian motto used to unite art and politics successfully during apartheid times (Sachs, 1990).

It could be argued that journalists at *Die Burger* during apartheid were probably never as directly involved in the political struggle. But in creating discourses, competing for various forms of capital, and taking part in the exercise of hegemony they were also not neutral. Thus, their post-apartheid positioning in terms of the African indigenous/imported Western debate would arguably also be an indication of a decidedly political role during the transition to a new dispensation.

But the problem becomes even more complex when the second dichotomy (between so-called popular and elite) is added to the debate. This discussion thus far has indicated that the (problematic) concept of indigenous African arts and culture has often been conflated with the concept of popular arts and culture. This is equally problematic both in a Western and post-colonial African context as the following discussion will show.

3.3.2 Elite/high and low/popular

Barber (1997:3) states that in the 20th century the conflation of "popular" with "mass" by "many cultural critics of both Left and Right -- including the influential post-war Frankfurt School dominated by Adorno and Horkheimer" gave impetus to its "pejorative thrust"[xii]. However, the opposite is also true: "popular has also been a focus for approbation and championship, to the point where anything produced by 'the people' is automatically valued" (*ibid.*). She continues:

> Popular sovereignty and popular democracy, highly value-charged terms, assume that what is popular is by definition good. Popular culture in many discourses occupies a self-evidently positive position, and the task then becomes one of distinguishing between what is 'truly' popular, and what is contaminated by hegemonic ideological infiltrations from above.

Barber (1997:3) refers to a distinction drawn by "some of the Latin American theatre activists between 'popular culture' -- that which truly serves the interests of the people by opening their eyes to the historical conditions of their existence -- and 'people's culture, that which emanates from the people but which is a form of false consciousness, working against their true interests by fostering acceptance of the status quo". In this study the dated neo-Marxist idea of a false consciousness is rejected because ideology is viewed here as part of the habitus of individuals and groups. The habitus includes the consciousness (and pre-reflexive unconsciousness) and can therefore be neither true nor false in essence. Its meaning, value, and worth can only come into existence in relation to others.

Barber (1997:3) duly recognised that the boundaries of the concept "the people" are also problematic, to say the least. She refers to Stuart Hall in defining the people as "corresponding to a class, or group of classes, though the boundaries are not usually clearly specified, and the 'people's' culture can be seen as engaged in contests over those boundaries" (*ibid.*). This links up to Bourdieu's idea of the constructed nature of classes and the role of culture (judgments of taste and symbolic signification) in determining their boundaries (see Chapter 2).

Regardless of the vagueness of the concept "people", "people's culture" in Europe is often regarded as "low or common culture as opposed to the high culture of the ruling class" Barber (1997:3). Calling this historical model "contested and ambivalent", she warns (*ibid.*):

> If popular culture is in some way grounded on the notion of 'the people', as a really-existing demographic category (however variably defined), then it is easy to slip into the assumption that each stratum of society has its own distinctive culture....This assumption, however has been challenged by cultural historians such as Roger Chartier, who observes...that it is impossible to find 'strict correspondences between cultural cleavages and social hierarchies': instead what you find is 'fluid circulation, practices shared by various groups and blurred distinctions...Chartier maintains...that we need to look at cultural cleavages between men and women, country and town, crafts and trades, masters and workers, Catholics and Protestants. Indeed, he recommended that we avoid altogether the notion of 'popular culture'.

Consequently, it will arguably also be problematic to bring the term "popular culture" to Africa, where it becomes "much more slippery and elusive" than it already is in a European context, Barber (1997:3) states. In short, besides distinctions of cultural, political, and socio-economic class, stratification based on "race" adds to the complexity of the South African situation (see Chapter 2).

In other words, along with the seemingly misleading distinction between African/indigenous and European/imported, the problematic concept of popular arts and culture probably has also lost much of its descriptive power in a post-colonial and post-apartheid South African context. The intertwined and dynamic nature of culture (seen here in the broadest terms as the "study of relationships between elements in a whole way of life" as defined by Raymond Williams [2004:334]) would mean that the arts and cultural omelette cannot be unscrambled again in South Africa. It may be futile and misleading to try and attach terms such as "Eurocentric" versus "indigenous African" and "elite" versus "popular" in binary fashion to cultural products created in a dynamic and transitional environment.

The challenge, however, for this study is how to go beyond a problematic theoretical dichotomy while it is still operational in both the perceptions and practices (discourses) of

various role players in ongoing hegemonic struggles. Levine (2007) provides an imaginative way past the deadlock, although it must be recognised that her main thesis depends on an arguably too positive view of the role of the mass media in the cultural "melting pot" and stable democracy of the United States of America.

Levine (2007) argues that both elite and popular arts and culture (however defined) are needed for the continued health of a democratic society. Her argument is that, in the first place, so-called *avant-garde* art and artists are vital instruments of democracy as a sort of safety-valve to prevent the mainstream majority from becoming authoritarian. According to Levine (2007:x) it is a popular perception that the arts need the protection of a flourishing democracy in order to survive. She argues that the opposite is equally true: "democracies require art -- challenging art -- to ensure that they are acting as free societies". Levine (2007:xi) explains:

> The art world's anti-majoritarian impulse remains crucial whenever democratic majorities threaten to turn tyrannical. Dissenting and unpopular artists...has allowed democracies to demonstrate their commitments for fostering and protecting marginal voices.

The other side of Levine's (2007) argument relates to the equally important role of so-called mass or popular arts and culture. Through the popular media "providing an understanding of what qualifies as mainstream information" (Levine, 2007:20) mass culture then also becomes an instrument of democracy. Put differently, how do you know what the mainstream majority in democracy feels, wants, and needs if you do not take note of popular arts and culture through the mass media? Echoing Benedict Anderson's (1983) thesis of the role of vernacular press capitalism in the formation of nation states in 18th century Europe, Levine (2007:20) states that it would not be possible to conceive of a large and complex social body without imagining and representing it (through the popular media). Levine (2007:21) summarises her argument as follows:

> [M]ass culture, avant-garde art, and modern democracy...developed out of nineteenth century struggles over the power of 'the people', and together, these institutions pose fundamental questions about democracy's workings: how do

> we know what the will of the people look like, and does that will necessarily indicate the wisest, fairest, freest course for societies to take?

One might argue that Levine (2007) has found an imaginative way out of the stale traditional debate between pessimistic and elitist critical mass culture theorists on the one hand, and proponents of the liberating and democratic powers of postmodern mediated popular culture on the other. The argument that a mostly small and marginalised group of artists -- through what Levine (2007) calls the oppositional "logic of the avant-garde" -- may/must assume an elitist role to criticise mainstream culture and values (presented in popular culture) in order to prevent the hegemonic closing of majority boundaries and serve democracy in the process is an attractive one indeed. As was already indicated, this notion places both artists and the mass media inside the workings of society in a manner that is comparable to Bourdieu's inclusive field theory.

Thus, the conclusion is that the distinction between elite and popular has been (somewhat prematurely), discarded by some postmodern theorists (see Chapter 2). The argument does not turn on an evaluation of the content of the respective categories (whether classical music is elite or popular) but on the fact that in a particular context classical music can become a mechanism of cultural distinction linked to power. In other words, the problem is the existence and persistence of the respective categories of elite and popular, which are still utilised for cultural distinctions despite evidence of the disappearance of the link between particular arts forms and elite groups and the rise of the so-called cultural omnivore.

As is the case with the African/European duality discussed above, I would therefore also argue for a carefully considered theoretical division along the lines of elite and popular art. Different elites (colonial, apartheid, and post-apartheid) have used these terms as instruments of vision and division. In other words, they were creating in- and exclusionary discourses around these terms. This study aims to track the shift between these discourses. But in using these concepts, the study will maintain that they do not indicate any existing or essential category but feature only as part of processes of symbolic signification in hegemonic struggles in and through the media.

It can thus be argued that, especially in the white-owned Afrikaans language media such as *Die Burger* that supported the NP and apartheid, certain so-called Eurocentric artistic

traditions, such as fine arts, poetry, ballet, and art music were considered high/elite art during apartheid. It is certainly not true for all Eurocentric forms such as popular Hollywood film and Anglo American pop and rock music. At the same time, however, it can be safely generalised that so-called indigenous African art was mainly considered on a lower/popular level than most if not all Eurocentric forms during colonial rule and apartheid. Thus, Eurocentric art seemed closer to elite power during white rule, although it must immediately be recognised that certain Eurocentric forms, such as theatre and music, were also adapted and used in the anti-apartheid struggle. Barber (1997:2) observes that (hybrid) African popular culture has "integrated the arts into a broader social history and played a role in political struggle". She continues (*ibid.*):

> The assumption made by some early enthusiasts of African 'popular art' that it is by definition naive, cheerful, and carefree has been replaced by the recognition that genres billed as entertainment usually talk about matters of deep interest and concern to the people who produce and consume them.

This study in fact takes its point of departure from the view, supported by Gramsci (1996 [1975]) and others, that the arts (be it so-called elite or popular) and culture in general, are terrains for continued power struggles between different individuals and groups in society. In South Africa these cultural struggles, often played out in the media, continued after the end of colonialism and apartheid.

Especially in the concept of "the logic of the avant-garde", Levine's (2007) work will inform this dissertation. As will be discussed in 3.4 below, arts journalists tend to share a similar logic, called "arts exceptionalism" by Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen (2007:620), which set them apart from other journalists in their construction of discourses. Echoing Levine (2007), Snapper (2008) regards arts criticism as a sort of safeguard against excess power. Snapper (2008:82) states:

> Criticism of the government, not just privately, but publicly, is one of the most important ways in which citizens can instigate change in a democratic system. In the same way, the promise that criticism can guard against hegemonic power also compels the arts community in South Africa to create a space where criticism can be expressed.

Even if one views the ideal relationship between the arts and the media on one hand and the government on the other as less oppositional, arts journalists might still have a role to play. Arguing that art and entertainment form part of the "symbolic frameworks and discursive formations in which identities are formed", Wasserman (2004:144) states that the media in an evolving democratic society such as South Africa will ideally provide "signifying frameworks that would help audiences make sense of societal changes".

3.4 Arts journalism

The previous discussion has already introduced the topic of the role of arts journalism in society. In this section more literature on the role of arts journalism, also specifically in South Africa and at Naspers, will be reviewed. The first finding is that little research on arts journalism has been done -- both locally (see discussion above) and internationally (see Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007:622).

3.4.1 "Crucial and problematic"

As the discussion in Chapter 1 indicated, arts journalism is often defined in term of its informational, educational, and entertainment roles in society. But Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen (2007:622), who state that arts journalists "shape and construct media texts relating to the arts", also point to the fact that their role is "both crucial and problematic". According to these and other scholars, problems arise firstly because of the positions of power that arts journalists, as cultural gate-keepers, find themselves in, and secondly, related to that, because their relative independence from other powerful agents and groups in society are therefore an issue.

Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen (2007:632) describe the need for arts journalists to maintain good relations with artists and performers and refers to Bourdieu's term of the "public of equals" in this regard. According to Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen (2007:632) arts journalists also write with a third audience in mind: "A larger, anonymous audience, whose lives can be enhanced by exposure to the arts". This point refers to the idealised, normative view of arts journalists as educators of the public.

Wasserman (2004:143) argues that arts journalists should cultivate "sensitivity to the broader societal context, the attitudes and tastes of their audience, and the function or aim of art" in society. Scott (1999) echoes a functionalist perspective that arts journalists, as gate-keepers and agenda-setters, may not determine what audiences think, but they may very well determine what audiences think about. Snapper's (2008:19-20) similar conclusion is that art writers today are "aware that choosing what to write about is as much of a criticism, judgment of taste or value, as any written commentary about what the critic liked or disliked".

Scott (1999:47) considers the ideal traditional role of arts journalists as "different from most other cultural mediators in at least one important respect: They propose to offer an "independent (though not indifferent) viewpoint". However, the exact nature of that independence seems to be the real bone of contention. Scott (1999:46) recognises that arts journalists do not operate in isolation and that their ideal of independence does not really stand up to close scrutiny. Besides the media, he lists "gallery owners, theatre managers, book publishers and all other cultural mediators of some sort, coming between the creator of the artwork and the audience for it as they have done certainly since Aristotle" (pp.46-47) as part of what Bourdieu (1993) calls the "field of cultural production". All these agents play a role in relation to, and often in competition with, each other -- thus structuring the field. Similarly, Snapper (2008:81) argues that the production and understanding of texts is dependent upon the social and material conditions of the time.

Scott (1999:48) argues that arts journalism ("with its added ingredient of almost compulsory subjectivity") is "operating within a deep-rooted set of assumptions about tastes and cultural values..." Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen (2007:636) link up to Bourdieu (1984) in showing that external factors, such as "social constructions of taste cultures", have a "profound bearing on how news workers see themselves". This means that "art criticism too contains traces of the author's social position" (Snapper, 2008:2), which can be described in Bourdieuan terms as his/her habitus (social/educational/professional trajectory).

Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen (2007:620) argue that while arts journalists regard themselves as journalists, they also lay claim to an "arts exceptionalism". According to these scholars this term exceptionalism refers not only to a feeling amongst arts journalists that they are superior to a conventional news reporter, but that they have the added "responsibility of

communicating the transformative nature of the arts" (*ibid*.). Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen (2007:620) continues:

> Drawing on such discourses, arts journalists construct theirs as a crusading role, and present their work as infused by a passion which is otherwise frowned upon within journalism.

Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen (2007:622) argue that although "high culture arts critics" enjoy more "cultural capital" than other journalists, they are challenged to justify their professional role. During open-ended unstructured interviews with 20 British arts journalists Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen (2007:626) found that many of them go to great lengths to "construct arts journalism as central to the news agenda, countering a view of the arts as 'soft news' or as 'light and fluffy' ".

On the one hand, arts journalists seem to justify the importance of the arts in economic terms. This leads Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen (2007:626) to argue that "economic arguments are, indeed, increasingly central to journalistic self-images and discourses, reflecting a broader trend through which the newsroom is colonized by economic interests, resulting in a need for newsworkers to draw on the language of capitalism to justify their activity". The logical consequence of this argument is the motto "give the public what they want". This finding is consistent with the trend observed by Botma (2008a & 2006a), MMP (2006), and others in relation to South African arts journalism since 1994 (see 1.2).

Writing more than 25 years ago, Eagleton (1984) was already thoroughly pessimistic about the state of literary criticism. He wrote that criticism is "either part of the public relations branch of the literary industry, or a matter wholly internal to the academies" (p.7) and that with the "transgression of traditional boundaries between private and public, the space of the classical public sphere rapidly dwindles" (p.64.). It is true that Eagleton does not focus inclusively on arts journalism, as it is regarded in this study, but his views are in line with those of numerous scholars, including Bourdieu (2003), who have argued extensively that the commodification of the public domain has impacted negatively on the whole field of cultural production, including journalism (see also Mosco, 1996; Underwood, 1993; Postman, 1986).

3.4.2 Political role

In an American context Levine (2007) suggests a much stronger political role for both the arts and arts journalists than Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen (2007) are able to provide in the United Kingdom and European context (see the discussion of the logic of the *avant-garde* in 3.3.2 above). Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen's (2007:634) finding was that British arts journalists do not view their audiences as a political entity. But I will pursue a line of inquiry based on evidence that South African arts journalists deliberately imagined and positioned themselves in political roles during apartheid. An obvious case in point seems to be the reaction of South African arts journalists to the so-called black protest theatre of the period (see discussion in 3.1). The argument is that in the South African context resistance to the apartheid regime contributed to an *avant-garde* status for many artists and a political role for arts journalists.

Snapper (2008:3) makes a strong argument for the social relevance of arts criticism in South Africa stating that it often deals expressly with issues "such as race and power relations explicitly". Her point of view also finds support in the seminal work of Eagleton (1984), who argues for a "substantive social function" for literary criticism (p.7). He argues that modern European criticism was "born of a struggle against the absolutist state" (p.9), and that the guiding concept of criticism is a positive, rational, and informed contribution to the "public sphere", first formulated by Habermas, poised between state and civil society (pp.8-9).

Snapper's (2008:25-26) reference to Marxist criticism is accepted in as far as it points to "the value of art" in allowing us to "criticise the ideology hidden in traces, or in overtly socio-political content". Following Bourdieu, I will steer away from the concept of ideology but will still argue, in line with Foucault, that arts media content forms part of a construction of political discourse. Snapper (2008) in fact summarises Foucauldian theory and especially discourse analysis. In short, Snapper (2008:26) states that discourse analysis enables the researcher to penetrate the "concealing veil created by the language surrounding certain topics" in arts criticism.

Referring to the "difficulty of the publishing economy in South Africa", Snapper (2008:17) argues that "all over the western world, art critics are claiming that criticism is in crisis, though there seems to be no real consensus as to why". She continues:

> Perhaps the idealised role of the art critic as a revolutionary, making progress towards a critical society, exited when postmodernism entered; and though criticism is not as harsh and hard-hitting as it was during the time of Greenberg, a form of art criticism still exists and still flourishes.

Continuing in this vein, I argue that because of their focus on "the transformative nature of the arts" (*ibid.*) arts journalists often view their role as transcendent of the boundaries of arts and culture. In fact, under apartheid some South African arts journalists regarded their "passionate crusading" role as a political one (MMP, 2006). This arguably may have caused tension in newsrooms because political journalists, for one, may have felt that arts journalists are trespassing on their beat in a manner that is not objective according to the dictates of professional journalism standards. The question is how the role and positioning of arts journalists in South Africa during the transition to democracy manifested itself.

3.4.3 Cultural hierarchies

The often unarticulated departure point of arts journalism, according to Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen (2007:632), is that Western cultures assume that high cultural forms "do something to us in a positive way". Echoing the work of Bourdieu, they (2007:620) thus focus on arts journalists as "mediators of 'high arts'" and their role in "the construction and perpetuation of distinctions between 'high' and 'low' cultures".

This does not mean that this study accepts that a fixed hierarchy exists in this regard (see 3.3.2 above). As Janssen (1999) describes in relation to Dutch society, shifting cultural hierarchies occurred throughout much of the Western dominated cultural sphere in the decades after the 1960s. For example, her finding that between 1965 and 1990 pop music and film progressed to a higher status in relation to theatre and classical music in Dutch society could by all accounts be replicated in South Africa (see MMP, 2006).

But Janssen's warning: that it "seems wrong to conclude that theatre and classical music dropped on the cultural ladder or that the old hierarchy of art forms was replaced by a new one" (1999:346), should be considered seriously. She argues that in this "process of de-hierarchization....long-standing differences in valuation between cultural domains began to

shift and the scope of 'legitimate', 'high' culture broadened to (encompass) additional art forms and genres such as pop music and the thriller novel" (*ibid.*). She continues:

> While these newly legitimized cultural domains adapted institutions and practices from traditional high culture areas -- honorific prizes awarded by expert juries, specialized review magazines, etc. -- the latter areas increasingly incorporated elements formerly associated with 'low' or 'commercial' culture such as consumer guides, bestseller lists and up-to-date marketing strategies.

In other words, both so-called high and low arts were influenced by elements from the other. But, as Janssen (1999) suggests, the result was not a disappearance of either, but at most an "erosion of cultural boundaries" (p. 346) due to amongst others the growth of mass higher education. It would also seem that in Dutch/European society at least, "social climbers seem to carry popular culture upwards along the social ladder" rather than "appropriating high brow culture on their way up" (*ibid.*). Her argument is that as more people follow the same upward social trajectory, the pressure to participate in high-brow culture -- in order to meet the expectations of a new status -- is thus likely to diminish further.

This train of thought is important because it applies also to new entrants in the field of journalism. In Bourdieu's terms, the habitus and level of cultural capital of art journalists will determine their own cultural valuations. As Janssen (1999) proposes, more information is needed on the changing characteristics of arts journalists, and the influence they have on the (re)valuation of certain art forms. She continues (p.347):

> The coverage given to cultural artifacts seems not merely an expression of pre-existing cultural classifications. Rather, it is both that and a source of cultural classifications. In dealing with the cultural realm, reviewers and other art newsmakers make use of cultural classifications, magnify them, frame them, and feed them back to an audience. Their treatment of cultural artifacts imposes its own logic in creating a symbolic environment. It may serve as either a brake on or a catalyst for cultural change.

Janssen (1999:347) also argues that "by portraying certain artifacts as elements of 'low' culture or by simply ignoring them", arts journalists may "make it more difficult for such

artifacts to be accepted by other social groups". By the same token, because media portrayals "may reflect existing cultural classifications, they may also ensure that new types of classifications become conceivable" (*ibid.*).

Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen (2007:628) found that many arts journalists described themselves as "high brow". Arts journalists felt that celebrity and entertainment stories were "popular" or "low culture texts", and that the demand for them "threatens the integrity of arts journalism" (*ibid.*). Thus, arts journalists' association with "high brow culture" seems to stem in part from their efforts to justify their attention to genres such as classical music, which enjoys the attention of a small part of the general population. This leads to the interesting phenomenon where arts journalists tend to hold their audience in higher regard than is common amongst mainstream journalists (Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007:629). (The issue of the view of the audience from the perspective of arts journalists of *Die Burger* in the 1990s will addressed in detail in Chapter 6.)

Scott (1999:50) argues that the positions that arts journalists often take are only one part of the process of keeping the "puzzling" distinction between high and low culture intact even in these "postmodern" times. The active response of some readers is the other constituent, Scott (1999:53) argues with reference to Schrum's concept of the "status bargain":

> Consumers of high culture are prepared to give up some of their opinion rights in exchange for the higher status (Bourdieu's 'cultural capital') that competent talk about the art work confers.

According to Scott (1999:53) some arts journalists have "also signed up for the status bargain" in that they may have to deal with works they don't particularly like, but they are "repaid handsomely in status terms for being able to write about these works with authority – an authority largely derived from the act of writing about them".

Scott (1999:48) prefers to view arts journalists as a "bridge between producers and consumers". This "privileged" and "unique position in journalism", according to Scott (1999:48), has to do with the fact that arts journalists are reporting on events and passing judgment about them at the same time. Using Scott's (1999) metaphor of the bridge, one of the major contradictions of arts journalism therefore seems to be that traditionally arts

journalists were trying to build and promote (especially high) arts and culture -- deliberately ignoring monetary values -- whereas the tendency has been that they were increasingly required to help the sale and promotion of popular versions.

According to Scott (1999:51), media-outlets have adopted a specific strategy to deal with the "awkward problem of considering art where money does matter": They continue to accept the cultural importance of older elite/high/minority art-interests and then elevate popular culture to the same level.The interesting question for this study to address is whether a similar process may have occurred in South Africa in the 1990s? Was so-called indigenous African arts and culture elevated to the level of the established so-called Eurocentric tradition for economic (and political) reasons?

3.5 Arts journalism in South Africa: "A baseline study"

In 2006 the MMP (henceforth MMP, 2006) produced a report on the state of arts journalism in South Africa. The discussion and analysis of the report by Botma (2008a) forms the basis of the overview in the following two sections.

3.5.1 Shifting structures

One of the key findings and central themes of MMP (2006: 5, 66) is the seemingly growing importance of financial considerations, advertising, and marketing in South African arts journalism since the start of democratisation. One could argue that these shifts were caused through the processes of democratisation and transformation by changes in the greater field of journalism and the media, which is situated in the "field of power" in society (as discussed in Chaper 2 above). Bennetts (2004), Jacobs (2003), and others describe these shifts (and counter-shifts) of power in the South African media in the period after 1994 in terms of trends like globalisation, conglomeration, and commodification. In short, after the restrictions of apartheid were lifted, and through the economic policies of the ANC-led government, the South African media became part of the international neo-liberal, free-market capitalist economy.

Although this study focuses on the positioning of arts journalism in the field of cultural production in 1990-1999, the relations of arts journalists to the field of power in apartheid

society are important as a departure point. Somewhat ironically, various respondents in MMP have unfavourably compared the perceived current failings of arts journalism to "better" conditions within the field under apartheid. According to the MMP (2006: 36):

> Informants pointed out a shift in the treatment of the arts in South Africa since 1994. While many artists (and arts journalists) could conceive of their work as having a clear purpose during the anti-apartheid struggle, this sense of collective purpose has quickly evaporated.

In Bourdieu's terms, the "shift of treatment" and resulting lack of "collective purpose" seem to point to a devaluation of cultural capital in both the field of cultural production and the field of power in post-apartheid society. Van Graan (quoted in MMP [2006: 36]) refers to the fact that, with "general forms of political activity quite restricted (under apartheid), culture forums replaced mass rallies and culture happened in the context of a broad mass democratic movement". Because of this closeness of arts and culture to the political field of power (of both the opposing "players" in the field -- the NP and the liberation movements), arts and culture and arts journalism become valuable sites for the manufacturing of cultural capital (and its transference into social, symbolic and economic forms and vice versa) in apartheid society. When apartheid had ended, and other forms of political expression became available, arts and culture was pushed back to its "normal", less privileged, and less powerful position -- away from the political field and further back into the dominated parts of the field of power. This disempowering effect was compounded by a simultaneous loss of economic capital for anti-apartheid artists. According to the MMP (2006: 36):

> The rise of cultural organisations in the mid-80s was made possible through international funding …. However, the new democracy brought a shift in funding patterns … back to Europe to East European countries … or was centralized through the new ANC-led government. With this centralisation of funding, which cut many artists off from their financial lifeline, a new era of what some call the 'commodification of culture' was ushered in. Part of this involved the professionalisation of the arts, which were shifted from centre-stage to the fringes of cultural and political change. Artists now had to turn to the new South African market to pay their way, sometimes with devastating consequences.

According to the MMP (*ibid*.: 37), the disempowerment of artists also had an influence on many arts journalists who now think that they have less available space, staff, and resources than in the apartheid era (*ibid*: 57). Most informants also accepted that the role of the journalist has shifted since 1994. Changes include the disappearance of an imaginary barrier that separates editorial staff from advertising and marketing personnel, and the fact than some arts journalists now accept it as part of their job to keep an eye on the so-called target market which might appeal to advertisers (MMP, 2006:37).

The picture that emerges from this discussion seems to suggest that conditions for arts journalism were somehow "better" under apartheid because of the availability of money (without commercial strings attached) and a clear political purpose. Or, argued from another angle, democracy and economic liberation were "bad" for arts journalism in South Africa because of the loss of a clear political target. On the one hand this is obviously a misleading statement because it is not truly reflective of the (very positive) sentiments expressed by the same respondents in the MMP report about the new democratic dispensation and the role arts journalism could still play in its further development. On the other hand, the impression that apartheid was "good" for arts journalism -- because it added to the symbolic power of arts journalists -- might be an accurate reflection of two related trends.

In the first instance, arts journalists might "romanticise" their role in the struggle for various reasons, including to enhance their current standing and status (and thus their cultural and/or social and symbolic capital *vis-à-vis* other competitors in the field, including newcomers). But reference to the "glory days" of arts journalism under apartheid might also point to the frustration and inability of post-apartheid arts journalists to redefine their role in the face of new challenges in the field.

In the next section the complexity of the field of arts journalism in South Africa will be observed more closely -- especially in relation to Afrikaans language publication.

3.5.2 Complexity in the field

Until now this discussion has mainly concentrated on the unity of the field of South African arts journalism -- both during apartheid and thereafter. Clearly this is an oversimplification

which the MMP report does not totally escape from either. In order to correct any impression that South African arts journalism ever was, or still is, a homogeneous field of coherence and harmony, I will now focus on some complicating issues and factors.

According to the MMP (2006: 7), some of the major complaints against post-apartheid South African arts journalism include a "facile emphasis" on the entertainment value of the arts, or a preference for "cut-and-paste Hollywood gossip"; rather than a "proper engagement with what is being produced by South Africa's artists and with what art has to say about who we are". The media have "juniorised" arts coverage by relegating arts stories to inexperienced journalists, by reducing space available for coverage, and by "relying too eagerly on publicists to keep them informed about what is going on". In this respect, many contend, the media are being "lazy", and they are failing to communicate the arts properly to the public "who want to know more, and who deserve better" (*ibid.*).

According to the MMP (2006), some arts journalists at the so-called opposition (mainly English) press under apartheid may have been creating oppositional discourses to apartheid. But this study argues that at least in part they still might have also contributed to the manufacturing of cultural capital in support of the status quo -- through a distinction between so-called elite/high Western) and popular/low (e.g. African) arts and culture. Evidence of these trends is visible even after 1994 (MMP, 2006: 40), which leads one to argue that a glorification of the role of arts journalists at oppositional media institutions under apartheid might also be an oversimplification of a complex issue.

Examples of main post-apartheid oppositional discourses include the issue of market-driven arts journalism versus a model of social responsibility and/or development (*ibid.*: 34-39). For some respondents the market guarantees quality, while others blame the market for the "dumbing down" (p. 24) and "sensationalizing" effect on intellectual content. There appears to be less consensus around the issues of social responsibility and development, other than a general agreement that some form of change had to be reflected in arts journalism under the new dispensation. The extreme version seems to be that arts journalists must be activists for an inclusive "new cultural hegemony" (*ibid.*: 38). Tied to this are different opinions on "objectivity" and traditional arts criticism (which some now see as an "ivory tower" and a "luxury" [*ibid.*: 39]) as well as the idea that participation in addition to activism is needed.

But different forms of socialisation -- which in Bourdieu's field theory is part of the concept of habitus -- are also seen by some respondents as problematic for a unified sense of activism in a field of arts, arts appreciation, and arts journalism. As Madondo states (*ibid*.: 40):

> How people were raised socially, how we were socialized, black people and white people, affects how we look at the arts. I saw a press release inviting people to come see African ritual. I said: 'We don't do that'. It is sacred as well. You might see it as cutting edge art, but I use it for some purpose, and the purpose is not for it to go beyond my family and clan. The same for arts journalists. Arts journalists are informed by their up-bringing.

Bourdieu (1993, 1984) relates individual education to processes of accumulating cultural capital, which would explain why some previously disadvantaged and excluded black South Africans still struggle to compete with vested interests in the established field(s) of cultural production after apartheid. Although structural changes have already occurred in the field (as discussed above), individual agents (especially newcomers from marginalised communities) are still at a disadvantage because of entrenched patterns and relations between economic and cultural capital (and the particular definition of cultural capital in the field). This situation might require that African culture is essentialised and commodified, and celebrated by arts journalism, as implied by Madondo above. One might also presume that African arts journalists wanting to enter the field might find it difficult to play this game.

Some of the findings of the MMP seem to suggest a continuance of traditional patterns. The report for instance states that "race and culture impact on how the arts are communicated in the media. 62% of the artists covered during the monitored period were white, compared to 32% black, 3% Indian, 2% coloured, and 1% Asian" (2006: 5). The study also found that "international artists receive more attention than local artists" (mostly artists from America and Britain) and that the rest of Africa receives only 2% of the coverage (*ibid*.: 6). It must also be mentioned that South African arts and culture still received 65% of the total coverage content monitored in the MMP study. This points to a situation with stronger links to Anglo-American rather than African arts and culture, and although the focus is predominantly local and white, it is not exclusively so.

Since 1994, arts journalism became a competitive commercial environment in which some media managers consider the coverage of arts and culture a "diversion" or "good cause" (*ibid.*: 24), or at best a "niche market" (*ibid.*: 49). This view extends, somewhat ironically, to the SABC with its public mandate, but "mixed" financial model of self-generating advertising income and limited state subsidy (*ibid.*: 64).

Arguably, this form of commercialisation may lead to even greater fragmentation along established lines of money, status and privilege, and/or an increased focus on general entertainment (the lowest common denominator). According to Accone (*ibid.*: 34):

> It's very awkward to negotiate. It's been convenient not to deal with this, simply by removing arts entirely, and upgrading to entertainment …. To a degree, editors are very happy not to have some kind of cultural warfare or race warfare breaking out on their entertainment pages. It's a very typical kind of 'shelve this and try ignore it' attitude. It should really be confronted. [The arts] should be very much a forerunner of a whole lot of social and cultural issues and discussions. So there's this terrible vacuum; there's no real forum for public intellectual discussion in South African newspapers, and that's a huge problem.

As far as the future of arts journalism in South Africa is concerned, there also seem to be different views. Although many respondents are pessimistic about the "shrinking space", "loss of skill", "insignificant education" and, "lack of experience" of new entrants into newsrooms, others point to examples of extended arts and culture coverage in both the commercial media (*ibid.*: 23) and SABC (*ibid.*: 63). Although the MMP (*ibid.*: 67) acknowledges commercial pressures as part of the field, the report suggests that arts coverage in South Africa "leans two-thirds in the wrong direction". According to the report (*ibid.*):

> Phrases like 'buying into' or 'target market' are frequently – and almost glibly – used by journalists and editors alike. They suggest how journalists are beginning to see themselves, and the roles that they are being asked to play. That it is reported that arts journalists are undervalued as professional journalists in the newsroom simply re-enforces this drift away from editorially independent and strong journalism.

The MMP study therefore suggests that "coverage predetermined by what most people will buy can hamper the development of culture more broadly" (*ibid*: 68).

In terms of field theory, this analysis suggests a field of cultural production which is dominated to a significant extent, and for a variety of reasons already mentioned, by the economic pole in post-apartheid society. But while the changing environment (on the surface) seems to suggest a positioning of arts journalists closer to the economic rather than the political/cultural pole in society, the (potential) role of arts journalists as manufacturers of "cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1993, 1984) in the building of a multicultural post-apartheid society cannot be discarded completely.

Cultural projects promoted through the media are, for example, part and parcel of the agenda of "nation-building" -- as formulated by the ANC-led government since 1994 (Teer-Tomaselli 2001; Croucher 2003: 19; Baines 1998: 3). According to Steenveld (2004: 95-101), post-apartheid South Africa has moved through different cultural stages -- each with its own 'discourse of transformation' since democratisation. The focus point of this study, 1990-1999, corresponds roughly with the first period: that of Nelson Mandela's term as President during the period when South Africa was hailed as the "rainbow nation". In the field of culture, a number of policy documents have been formulated and implemented in an attempt to design an "indigenous" African culture through the construction of myths (also in and through the media -- especially the SABC), and position it away from a Western colonial heritage (Teer-Tomaselli, 2001: 125–128). As *inter alia* Botma (2006a) suggests this seems to point to a close connection between (some) arts journalists and political forces in society --particularly true in the case of Afrikaans language arts journalism at *Die Burger*, which is part of the media giant Naspers, which, in turn, can be closely linked to the rise (and fall) of Afrikaner nationalism.

In Bourdieu's terms, Afrikaans arts journalists were creating cultural capital in aid of the apartheid status quo -- in part through their distinction between 'elite' art and 'popular' art (and at the same time through their promotion of Afrikaans/Afrikaner culture). But the picture is further complicated by indications that some more liberal writers and arts journalists, at newspapers like *Beeld* and *Die Burger* (which also formed part of the MMP study), were in fact possibly creating oppositional content to apartheid hegemony (MMP 2006: 33).

The complicated historic role -- and thus maybe also the process of transition to democracy -- of Afrikaans arts journalism might explain references in the MMP report to some of the perceived different values of (and approaches to) Afrikaans arts journalism in the post-apartheid media environment (see p. 26, 33). Furthermore, in relation to Afrikaans as a language medium, the MMP report does not engage significantly with the issue of language diversity (or the lack thereof) in the public domain. This includes the links of language to cultural and economic capital in the South African field of cultural production with its 11 official languages (and where English has been accepted as the *lingua franca* of the elite). (To be fair, the MMP report did focus on five press publications [out of 23] in languages other than English. Of those, three were in Afrikaans.)

Argued from the perspective of field theory, one reason for the apparent closer involvement of Afrikaans arts journalists with their immediate ethnic cultural environment (as was proposed by Pretorius in MMP [2006: 33]) might be that cultural and economic capital in the Afrikaans media are closely linked to a language whose former privileged status is seemingly under threat from different quarters in the new dispensation. This means that the cultural capital which Afrikaans arts journalists are creating is not only valuable for its ability to be transferred into economic capital but has value as symbolic capital as well. Or to put it another way: Afrikaans arts journalists after 1994 still have a clear cause and a unifying purpose, which seems to be lacking in English-language arts journalism at the moment.

Also, as Botma (2006a) argues, the only remaining Afrikaans media company from the apartheid era, the international conglomerate Naspers, has successfully (in terms of both economic and cultural capital) combined political and economic motives around Afrikaans into powerful "synergistic" strategies. MMP (2006: 49-50) refers to this trend at Naspers only in passing (see discussion below on Naspers and Afrikaans/Afrikaner arts journalism).

3.5.2 Arts journalism, Afrikaans/Afrikaner culture and Naspers[xiii]

The relationship between "Afrikaners" as a cultural and political group and "Afrikaans" as a language needs to be clarified. The multicultural and multiracial origins and development of Afrikaans were obscured because of the link between apartheid and Afrikaner nationalism. At the time of writing only about 43 percent of the current total Afrikaans-language community

of about 6 million people was white (Giliomee, Heese & Schlemmer, 2005), which means that millions of coloured South Africans were historically often excluded (also by themselves) from the definition of (white) "Afrikaners". Therefore, one of the consequences of apartheid for the Afrikaans-language community was a clear division along racial and economic class lines, which persists to this day (see Jeffreys, 2005; Visser, 2005; Wyngaard, 2004).

Contrary to a widespread misconception, Afrikaner culture can therefore only be seen as one variant of Afrikaans culture in general. For example: Afrikaans culture in the broader sense was also enriched by the large community of Cape (Malay) Muslims who were influential in the development of the language from its seventeenth-century Dutch origins. It was probably in this setting that Afrikaans first emerged as a written language as early as 1806 (Willemse, 1999).

Interestingly enough, as Willemse [1996, p. 101] indicates, this fact of Afrikaans as originally a "nonwhite" language has now also been appropriated post-1994 by some white Afrikaners wishing to legitimise the language within a contested, multicultural society. Arguably, part of this process of legitimisation was a decision by *Die Burger* after 2000 to substitute the ideological term "Afrikaner" with the arguably more neutral descriptive term of "Afrikaanses" (all those who speak Afrikaans), (see Visser, 2005).

Naspers was founded in 1915 to support Afrikaner nationalism and steadfastly promoted a nationalist discourse through its growing arsenal of publications (O'Meara, 1983). Although the discourse at some stages included decidedly anticapitalist sentiments, the company's own commitment to the accumulation of capital never wavered (see also Muller, 1990).

In Bourdieu's terms, Naspers took part in and depended on the fabrication, exploitation, and transformation of Afrikaner habitus. Naspers created a form of symbolic capital by the fabrication and glorification of a direct, historic, and virtually exclusive link between Afrikaners and Afrikaans. This enabled Afrikaners to compete for economic and cultural capital in the field of cultural production in the apartheid era. Because the company was in close proximity to influential Afrikaner interests in the political and economic fields in the larger field of power, it could (in the long run) compete successfully in its own, more heterogeneous, field (see Jacobs [2003], Horwitz [2001], and O'Meara [1983] for examples where Naspers profited from its allies in the field of power).

Through its own concentration of economic and cultural capital, Naspers in this way also contributed to the process whereby Afrikaans and Afrikaner culture gained more social and symbolic capital, which in turn was transferred into cultural and economic capital in the field of cultural production and other related fields. For instance, through its publications, Naspers took part in the so-called language struggle that led to Afrikaans being declared an official language next to English in 1925 (Muller, 1990; Beukes, 1992, Beukes & Steyn, 1992).

The official democratisation of South Africa in the 1990s meant that changes in the field of power were drastically accelerated. Not only did Naspers finally lose its powerful political ally of more than half a century when the NP first capitulated and then collapsed, but the company also had to reposition itself quickly in terms of the new political elite -- led by the ANC (see DB, 2007/07/03:1 for an example of Naspers's strategy to reach out to the new power elite).

After 1994 Afrikaner culture (and in the process Afrikaans), became notably less valuable for Naspers in terms of its ability to be transformed into social and symbolic capital. In fact, already during apartheid as part of a process of building counter-hegemony, Afrikaans was stigmatised because of its association with Afrikaner habitus. However, Naspers's cultural connections and profits were (after 1994) still firmly rooted in the Afrikaner community (though not exclusively), and too drastic a political repositioning at that stage could have threatened Naspers's ability to compete for economic and cultural capital in the changing field of cultural production (Wasserman, 2005).

At the same time, the changing political and socioeconomic landscape since 1994 meant that Naspers had to move away, and also be seen to move away, from any racial and sectarian interests, especially those that could directly link the company to its apartheid history. Naspers's response was twofold: In 1994-1995 Naspers listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange -- thereby officially distancing itself from the remains of the political and economic fields of power established by apartheid. Naspers restructured and became a public company with a diverse ownership and audience base. This was achieved through the sale of, *inter alia*, some shares to emerging black entrepreneurs (thus showing a "clear break with the practices of Afrikaner capital," according to Tomaselli, 2000: 286) while extending its operational focus internationally.

But, as Botma (2006a: 96) indicated, Naspers's complex ownership and shareholding structure actually enabled the company to maintain and shield its links to traditional Afrikaner companies, such as Sanlam, and in all probability also to other influential Afrikaner groups and leaders who had been part of the structure under apartheid. Secondly, Naspers used opportunities created by the democratisation and internationalisation of South Africa to increase its diversification of cultural production in the media. But still the historic connection to Afrikaner/Afrikaans culture is visible in the company's commitment to and sponsorship and promotion of various Afrikaans arts and culture festivals since 1995 (and also in its media content, such as the conservative discourses around Afrikaans language rights in *Die Burger*).

It could be argued that Naspers's involvement as sponsor and organiser of Afrikaans festivals originated right after the fall of apartheid in an effort to protect their investment (in terms of economic and cultural capital) in Afrikaners. But by emphasising Afrikaans (and thus trying to neutralise the link to Afrikaner nationalism and its stigmatized symbolic capital), Naspers could appeal to the Afrikaans community as a whole (including non-white members). When, in reality, there were more white Afrikaans speakers (Afrikaners) who attended these sponsored festivals (see Prins, 2005; Topley, 2005), Naspers responded by denouncing segregated festivals and applying strategies to draw diverse audiences.

When that did not change the situation substantially after more than five years (and under direct pressure from a prominent non-white member of the Naspers board of directors) the company started cultural festivals aimed in the main at non-white Afrikaans speakers (I. Schneider, personal communication, August 11, 2005) although they also tried to promote it as "inclusive" in an effort to "break down apartheid barriers" (K. Bekker, personal communication, August 4, 2005; A. Rossouw, editor of *Die Burger*, personal communication, August 11, 2005).

By slowly extending their ability to compete for symbolic and social capital through an engagement with the media culture of the broader Afrikaans community, Naspers has created opportunities to transfer these forms of capital into cultural and economic capital in due course. By using and building more economic and cultural capital through extended engagements with the rest of South Africa and at the same time certain international communities, Naspers has arguably positioned itself in an even more dominant position in its

field than in the apartheid era. Traditional Afrikaner culture and the Afrikaans language in general, therefore, seem to be on an intersection of different forces in the field of cultural production.

Van Heerden (2008:61) describes how Naspers, through a sponsorship by *Die Burger*, decided to become involved in the launch of the Klein Karoo National Arts Festival (KKNK) in Oudtshoorn in 1995 as part of a process of Afrikaans cultural organisation to reposition themselves in the post-apartheid dispensation. In the subsequent development of a circuit of Afrikaans arts festivals across South Africa, and even abroad, relatively little was done to promote black (South) African culture (Van Heerden, 2008:64).

Naspers's sponsorship and organisation of Afrikaans festivals at one stage totalled around 30 (Kitshoff, 2005:3). It would seem that the specific involvement of an "Afrikaans orientated institution" (Kitshoff, 2005:145), Naspers, played a deciding role in the identity of these festivals. Festivals were started in areas where Naspers publications had an entrenched market -- or at least the potential of a strong Afrikaans reader base (*ibid.*).

Kitshoff (2005) tracks the "rise, dynamics and meaning" of the KKNK in the period 1995-2005. In the main, Kitshoff (2005) touches only superficially on the role of the media. His study, however, is still significant in that it lends support to the findings of Botma (2006a) and others on the involvement of Naspers in the launching of Afrikaans arts festivals after 1994. Linking up with Van Heerden (2008), Kitshoff (2005) examines an apparent link between the loss of political and cultural power by Afrikaners in 1994 and the establishment of the KKNK in 1995.

Referring to Bourdieu's use of the terms heterodoxy and orthodoxy, Kitshoff (2005:81) quotes Mads Vestervaard's differentiation between two types of post-apartheid Afrikaners: those who would welcome the challenges of a new South Africa (heterodox) and those who would rather resist it and favour their established values (orthodox). This dichotomy characterises much of the history and nature of the KKNK, and other Afrikaans festivals, according to Kitshoff (2005).

Besides the obvious economic and orthodox cultural aims, Naspers apparently also had some heterodox political views in positioning these festivals. From the start it was made clear that

although the focus of the festivals would be on Afrikaans arts and culture, it would be inclusive (not only in terms of skin colour, but also race and ethnicity -- including accommodating languages other than Afrikaans). But in practice the majority of festival goers and productions remained white and Afrikaans, leading to continued criticism (also from some arts journalists at *Die Burger*) against what was often described as conservative Afrikaners harking back to a segregated past in which they were the ruling hegemony.

Simultaneously, festivals like the KKNK were also continuously criticised, often by arts journalists, for their commercial character and the apparent emphasis on entertainment (rather than so-called high art). Identifying a confrontation between artistic and commercial interests at the KKNK, Kitshoff (2005:160) argues that this situation can be seen as a "metaphor" for the state of the arts in South Africa where money is in chronic short supply, and survival means to aim for the biggest common denominator.

Van Heerden's main conclusions (2008:243-246) include the observation that the theatre underwent a process of commercialisation, even a "dumbing down",in the first post-apartheid decade. Interestingly, this observation of commercialisation correlates to what other studies (see Botma, 2008a; MMP, 2006) concluded in relation to arts journalism in South Africa in roughly the same period. One could argue that both the theatre and journalism were in turn influenced by larger tendencies of commodification as part of a globalisation process in South African media and society (see Bennetts, 2004; Berger, 2004 & 2000; Teer-Tomaselli, 2001; Tomaselli, 2004 & 2000).

Thus, although a shift occurred from so-called Eurocentric high culture and some efforts were made to include black actors and local subject matter, audiences largely remained white and the focus did not become Afrocentric in the main. It was largely left to state initiatives to try and promote so-called previously disadvantaged indigenous artists and cultural practitioners. However, the state experienced a number of bureaucratic and administrative problems in restructuring the arts and culture industry in the first decade after 1994, and was therefore unable to live up to both its promises of large scale indigenous upliftment and the popular expectations created by it (Van Heerden, 2008:9). Van Heerden (2008:245-246), however, states that although his findings can be interpreted negatively, his study also indicates that a number of significant changes since 1994 have possibly prepared the way for a better future for South African theatre.

Kitshoff (2005:154) refers to an important dilemma for arts journalists at *Die Burger* after 1994*:* Journalists were expected (in terms of their professional ethic) to react critically to arts festivals sponsored by the company they work for. As Botma (2006a) confirms, this issue became central in tension that developed after 1994 between arts journalists, managers, and editors of Naspers and *Die Burger*.

3.6 Arts Journalism at *Die Burger*

In this section the historic background to the research focus will be addressed. As the discussion in 3.1 indicated, little academic literature on arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) has been published to date.

3.6.1 Background (1915-1989)

Steyn (1990) and Beukes & Steyn (1992) provide a summary of the role of *Die Burger* and other Naspers affiliates in the cultural positioning of Afrikaners since the beginning of the 20th century up to around 1990. In the early years, "a time of propaganda" according to Beukes & Steyn (1992:3), "everything in Afrikaans...was greeted (at *Die Burger*) with a cheer" (*ibid*..). Steyn (1990) also indicates that a more critical positioning developed over time.

The year 1952 can be seen as landmark date in the development of arts and culture journalism at *Die Burger*. Page 2 of the newspaper was officially dedicated to cultural issues, including theatre, music and film reviews and fine arts news and reviews, although "non-cultural" news still appeared on the "arts page" from time to time (Beukes & Steyn, 1992:180). In 1955 a young woman, Anneke Keyter, became the first full-time arts editor of *Die Burger*. In 1957, when she married Danie van Niekerk (in later years the renowned head of the Naspers publishing house Tafelberg), she was succeeded by W.E.G. Louw (Beukes & Steyn, 1992:181). This esteemed academic and poet was the first in a long line of male arts editors at *Die Burger*. The next female arts editor, Laetitia Pople, was only appointed in 2006.

Up to the 1980s women in the editorial staff were often restricted to "soft news" and sections like the "woman's page". The fact that a junior woman, Keyter, was handed responsibility for

the arts page in 1955 (in a male-dominated era) possibily indicates that arts and culture journalism was not seen as a high priority for *Die Burger* at that time. This view is confirmed by Steyn (1990) who argues that the often propagandistic attention to the Afrikaans literature of the 1920s and 1930s at the newspaper waned considerably in the "war years" (1939-1945) and took a long time to recover.

Priorities once more appeared to shift in 1957 when Louw, at that time professor in Afrikaans and Dutch literature at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, contacted Naspers and suggested a role for himself in order to work on another terrain of "our common cause" (Beukes & Steyn, 1992:181-182). He was offered the job of arts and books editor at a salary equal to that of the assistant-editor of the paper (p.182). Louw's stature (symbolic capital), network of prominent contacts in elite Afrikaner society (social capital), and legacy as a prolific arts journalist, columnist and reviewer (cultural capital) contributed to the high regard of the newspaper's arts and books page(s) in the professional and public perception for decades to come (Beukes & Steyn, 1992:185). Like all high profile positions at the newspaper until late in the 20th century, the post was seemingly "reserved" for men.

Louw was succeeded by Ben de Kock in 1966. In 1970 Victor Holloway, who was *Die Burger*'s sports editor for the preceding 17 years, took over from De Kock. After a term of 12 years as arts editor, during which time his legendary status came to rival that of Louw's, Holloway died in 1983. He was succeeded by Kerneels Breytenbach, whose term ended in 1989.

According to Steyn (1990) his study of *Die Burger's* role in Afrikaans cultural development involves political issues because "politics and culture have always moved closely together in South Africa" (p.v). Steyn (1990:vi) argues that political circumstances sometimes have a more or less direct influence on the content of literary work, on reviewers, on the attitude of writers and academics towards political parties, and the newspapers supporting them. In the case of *Die Burger* (as this study will show in detail), its close historic ties with the National Party (NP) played a particularly strong role in its relationship with and positioning towards writers and artists also after apartheid.

Steyn (1990) set out to investigate the role of *Die Burger* in the development of Afrikaans literature and culture around three questions. The questions were: If and how did *Die Burger*

help to develop Afrikaans as a "cultural language in its own right"; whether the newspaper created a "language consciousness" amongst its readers; and, did it engage seriously (supportively but also critically) with the works of the "most important writers and other artists?" (p.v). In addressing these questions Steyn (1990:149-152) declares that although the newspaper (and some of its reviewers) made some "serious mistakes" in misjudging the groundbreaking works by some prominent figures in the early decades of the 20th century, the newspaper created a "cultural climate" that enabled public acceptance for new directions in Afrikaans literature after 1957 (when W.E.G. Louw took charge of the arts page).

In the 1960s and 1970s, when the works of prominent Afrikaans writers such as Breyten Breytenbach, André P. Brink and Etienne Leroux were declared undesirable by state censorship laws and public sentiment were against them, critics in *Die Burger* (for example) argued the artistic merits of these controversial new works. However, the newspaper did not shy away from severely criticising the political activity of (some of these) writers when they challenged Afrikaner hegemony and official NP policy (Steyn, 1990:150). In the end Steyn (1990:151) wonders whether *Die Burger* "did enough" to make a stand against literary and artistic censorship in the 1970s. In contrast this study will show that latter day respondents, including arts journalists, ascribe to *Die Burger* an unambiguously heroic anti-censorship role during apartheid.

Prior to the deterioration of the relationship between *Die Burger* and prominent Afrikaans writers in the 1970s, the newspaper had a relatively good intellectual standing (see Steyn, 1990:70). Although a staunch supporter of the NP, Piet Cillié, the influential editor during the 1960s, allowed a measure of "open debate" in the newspaper about various controversial subjects, ranging from politics to culture. This relatively open space for oppositional discourses appeared to be accessible to arts journalists in order to display a measure of relative editorial independence at *Die Burger* during apartheid.

An example of the complex relationship between the political positioning of arts journalists at *Die Burger* and the newspaper's official view occurred in 1989 -- about six months before President F.W. de Klerk unbanned the ANC and other "terrorist organisations" on 2 February 1990.

In July 1989 a group of 40 prominent Afrikaans writers met an ANC delegation at Victoria Falls in Zambia. The only journalist accompanying the group was André le Roux of *Die Burger*. Le Roux, also a published fiction writer of note, reported (10-12.7.1989) *inter alia* that the writers supported the ANC-led campaign of a cultural and academic boycott against South Africa and intended to work towards the unbanning of the ANC and the achievement of its goals "within the broad democratic movement" (Beukes & Steyn, 1992:388).

Although Le Roux enjoyed a measure of trust from the other members of the group because of the liberal, anti-establishment stance he often displayed in his journalism and fiction, he approached the task of reporting on the tour professionally (Le Roux, 2010). On 13 July 1989 *Die Burger* responded with editorial comment under the heading "Linkse fascisme" (Left fascism) in which the newspaper compared the cultural boycott against apartheid to the suppression of artists, academics, and scientists in Nazi-Germany and "all communist countries" (Beukes & Steyn, 1992:389.) The editorial attacked the group for putting their art "in the service of politics" and supporting the "totalitarian" and "unfree" ideas of the ANC (*ibid*.).

In a column on the arts page, Le Roux also distanced himself personally and politically from the group's actions and statements (Le Roux, 2010). But that does not mean that Le Roux supported the NP and the political stance of *Die Burger* in general during apartheid. In fact, according to Le Roux (2010), he never supported the NP. He objected to the cultural boycott "on principle", just as he had consistently rejected all forms of artistic and intellectual censorship as a writer and journalist[xiv] (*ibid*.).

This example of the complex relationship between arts journalists and political journalists at *Die Burger* informs this study.

Ton Vosloo, the chairman of Naspers, was also very critical of the action of Afrikaans writers. In a speech at the same time (Beukes & Steyn, 1992:389), Vosloo found it "troublesome" that the writers who talked to the ANC "were seemingly happy to submit voluntarily to the guidelines dictated from above" and suggested that they were out of touch with the "general movement of society" (*ibid*.).

Although it would seem, with the benefit of hindsight, that *Die Burger* and Naspers were the ones who were out of touch with reality, the truth may be even more troublesome. Research done after 1994 by W. Breytenbach (2010) and others, indicates that at least one senior member of *Die Burger* was not only well-informed about official contact with the banned ANC before 1990 but was actually personally involved. W. Breytenbach (2010) summarises events leading up to 2 February 1990 and indicates that Ebbe Dommisse, who became editor of the newspaper in 1990, took part in discussions with an ANC delegation, including Thabo Mbeki, in England in February 1988.

This meeting was part of a series of contacts between various stakeholders, including business leaders, academics, journalists, writers, artists, politicians, and members of the South African security establishment, that started as early as 1984. The South African government was well informed about these events and was using it as an indirect avenue to investigate possible negotiations. When F.W. de Klerk took over as State President from P.W. Botha in 1989, the government had already started talking directly to Nelson Mandela in prison (W. Breytenbach, 2010:15; see also Esterhuyse, 2010).

But, throughout the 1980s *Die Burger* (along with other members of the Afrikaans media close to the NP) only highlighted, ridiculed, and condemned contact between the left and the ANC. The fact that leading figures in the establishment, themselves included, were doing the same was strategically withheld from readers. (See Chapter 6 for the reaction of Dommisse [2010] to this event).

3.6.2 *Die Burger* in transition (1990-1999)

Little reference in existing academic literature could be found with regards to arts journalism at *Die Burger* in this particular period (the focus point of this study). Steyn (1990:152) refers to this period in stating that *Die Burger* did "carry over" one aspect of Afrikaner nationalism from the previous era -- its role as staunch advocate for maintaining the official political and economic functions of Afrikaans in the post-apartheid South Africa. For example, in his role as arts editor in 1990, Johann Botha wrote a number of articles about the position of Afrikaans in the new dispensation (Beukes en Steyn, 1992:393). The renowned Afrikaans writer and academic, Hennie Aucamp, was also given space on the arts page to inquire whether Afrikaners were prepared to "sell their culture second-hand" for commercial reasons,

or perhaps as part of "political restitution" (*ibid.*). The issue of *Die Burger's* role in the so-called "taaldebat" (language debate) will be addressed in the chapters to come.

Although Baard (2007) does not refer to arts journalism, her study deals with the political positioning of *Die Burger* after 1994. According to her, *Die Burger* made it clear in its official political positioning that it was in favour of getting rid of apartheid and reaching a negotiated settlement for a new dispensation (Baard, 2007:23). But as Baard (2007) also indicates, another tendency became clear at the same time: From 1990-1994 *Die Burger* never wavered in its support for the NP government (and especially state president F.W. de Klerk), and frequently criticised the ANC for its commitment to the armed struggle, its economic policy and its allies, such as the SA Communist Party. At the same time both the far right and extreme left were portrayed negatively in *Die Burger* (Baard, 2007:24).

Die Burger at first adapted a cautiously optimistic attitude towards the controversial TRC which was tasked with investigating apartheid atrocities from 1996. However, over time the newspaper's official stance changed to open hostility, often aimed personally at the chairman, Archbishop Desmond Tutu (Baard, 2007:50). The editor at the time, Ebbe Dommisse, regarded the commission as a biased witch-hunt against Afrikaners.

Baard (2007) found that *Die Burger's* view of the TRC became more balanced after 2000. She argues that a possible explanation could be the fact that Dommisse was replaced by a younger and seemingly more moderate editor, Arrie Rossouw, in 2000 (p.71). Interestingly, Baard (2007) then adds: "...because the official stance of *Die Burger*, and any other newspaper, can be equated to the view of its editor" (p.71-72). Although this study takes a more nuanced approach, it is considered convenient that the particular research period corresponds completely with the term of one editor, the aforementioned Dommisse (see Chapter 1).

Baard (2007:72) also quotes journalist Jannie Ferreira who states that the "younger generation" of journalists at *Die Burger* often opposed Dommisse's view of the TRC. How much of those oppositional views found their way into published political content is at issue in this study only as it pertains to arts journalism. As I have indicated before, the existence of oppositional discourses in the same newsroom corresponds to one of the departure points of this study.

3.7 Summary

In this chapter a literature review relevant to the research focus of this study was conducted. Findings revealed that arts journalism is an under-researched subject, especially in South Africa and particularly at *Die Burger* (1990-1999). Bourdieu's field theory has not been used to describe arts journalism at an Afrikaans-language newspaper in a PhD study before.

Secondly, arts journalism was placed in the context of media transformation in South Africa during that period. General support was registered for the Bourdieuan view that processes and products (fields) of cultural production are intertwined with others in society at large and should be considered in unison for the purposes of research.

However, an overview of the issue of cultural transitions in South Africa provided the insight that a measure of theoretical distinction needs to be maintained between problematic and contested concepts such as traditional indigenous African and imported European arts and culture, as well as the related high/elite and low/popular distinction. Particularly Levine's (2007) conception of the logic of the *avant-garde* (along with the role of the popular mass media) in sustaining democracy -- by constructing and circulating oppositional discourses -- was identified as a means of using a traditional dichotomy for analytical reasoning without falling into the traps of an established divisive debate. Furthermore, Levine's (2007) view can be aligned to Bourdieu's theory of culture in which artists and arts journalists play a central role in hegemonic struggles through their often arbitrary cultural distinctions and judgments of taste.

An overview of existing literature on arts journalism both internationally and locally showed that commodification influenced the field progressively since the 1990s and that some critics regard the situation as a crisis. The notion that the arts could have a transformative role seems to persist, with the related view that arts journalism could also have a political impact on society. It was also established that arts journalists experienced various pressures inside newsrooms because of their unusual bridging role between producers and consumers and artists and readers. Their work was often regarded as unimportant soft news while they were increasingly called upon to justify their existence in economic terms. If and when they played

a perceived political role, they would be pressured by so-called hard news journalists inside the newsroom.

Still, arts journalists considered their work important and regarded themselves as high-brow -- even when they were incorporating and promoting so-called popular/low arts. Through their discourses, arts journalists thereby contributed to both the shifting of existing cultural boundaries and hierarchies and the establishment and fixing of others that are arbitrarily linked to elite power.

The limited literature on arts journalism in South Africa and at *Die Burge*r as subsequently reviewed has confirmed the general impression of a field in crisis due to a lack of political and cultural direction as well as growing economic pressure. In post-apartheid South Africa, arts journalists were at odds between different cultural and political programmes and policies and how that related to the particular strategic focus of their respective publications. It was found that Afrikaans arts journalists at *Die Burger* retained a commitment to the preservation and advancement of the language as part of the historic link of their publications to Afrikaner nationalism. Added pressure was provided by efforts to use arts journalism as a mechanism to reposition the newspaper culturally, politically, and economically in the 1990s in order to include a previously marginalised coloured/black audience.

This chapter thus prepared the ground for a thorough analysis of the content of arts journalists published during this period of transition. Firstly, however, the research methodology of this study must be addressed in more detail.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1. Introduction

Arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) contributed to the construction and circulation of discourses in society -- consequently, their arts journalism was also structured by these discourses. Qualitative research methods will be utilised in order to analyse arts journalism in the newspaper from 1990-1999 within the theoretical framework outlined above.

Du Plooy (1995:33) states that qualitative inquiry is "analytical and interpretative" and attempts to examine phenomena in a "holistic manner". Qualitative researchers, according to Du Plooy, believe that "there is no one 'objective' reality which can be observed and neutrally quantified" (*ibid.*). In this study triangulation will be achieved by combining two qualitative methods -- namely critical discourse analysis (CDA) and semi-structured interviews. As was indicated in Chapter 1, the study as a whole is also informed and supported by the background of the researcher, a member of the arts desk of *Die Burger* for roughly a decade from the early 1990s. As was stated above, this researcher draws on that experience for background material only and not for the purposes of producing findings from auto-ethnographic research methods.

Kvale & Brinkmann (2009:11) argue that qualitative methods, "ranging from participant observation to interviews to discourse analysis have since the 1980s become key methods of social research". According to Richardson (2007:15), empirical qualitative studies of the media are no longer consigned to the margins of research and training but have opened up to more "interpretative, contextual and constructivist approaches to data collection and analysis". He argues that CDA is one such approach that focuses on "what is written or said in the context in which it occurs, rather than just summarising patterns or regularities in texts" (Richardson, 2007:15). This implies that "textual meaning is constructed through an interaction between producer, text and consumer rather than being 'read off' the page by all readers in exactly the same way" (*ibid.*). Thus Richardson (2007:15) suggests that the publication context of texts is vital, and that CDA offers a valuable option in qualitative research. This study therefore concurs wholeheartedly in its use of CDA to analyse the discourses in newspaper texts in *Die Burger* (1990-1999).

In addition, findings from the CDA of newspaper texts will be qualitatively compared to interview data to provide a "talk back" opportunity to editorial staff members of *Die Burger* (1990-1999). [See Chapter 1 for a detailed motivation of the specific research period.]

In the following section CDA will be outlined in more detail to show how it relates to the theoretical framework in Chapter 2 and more specifically to the work of Bourdieu and Foucault.

4.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Because of the critical-cultural paradigm and qualitative approach to research of this study, the method of CDA presented itself as a logical tool for the analysis of arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999). CDA fits within a broader framework of discourse analysis -- an extremely contested and diverse field in terms of theory and method (see Richardson, 2007:21; Fairclough, 2003; Glynos, Howarth & Speed, 2009). As Kvale & Brinkmann (2009:226) state, discourse analysis is "in line with the postmodern perspective on the human world as socially and linguistically constructed". According to them discourse analysis "focuses on how truth effects are created within discourses that are neither true nor false" and studies how language is used to "create, maintain and destroy different social bonds" (*ibid*). They also refer to a definition of discourse by Parker as "the organization of language into certain kinds of social bonds" (*ibid*.).

Blommaert & Bulcaen (2000) refer to Chouliaralu & Fairclough in stating that "discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned" (p. 448). Discourse analysis, according to Kvale & Brinkmann (2009:226), "shares with pragmatism an emphasis on the primacy of doing, of practice, of actions performed in the here and now". They continue (*ibid*.):

> Discourses are discontinuous practices, which cross each other and sometimes touch, while just as often ignoring or excluding each other.

According to Richardson (2007:26), CDA represents "a growing body of work that adopts the functionalist definition of discourse" -- in other words, work that accepts that "discourse is language in use", and that discourse plays a part in "producing and reproducing social

inequalities". Thus CDA is concerned with how discourse constitutes and is constituted by power relations in society.

According to Blommaert & Bulcaen (2000:447) CDA, which emerged in the late 1980s "as a programmatic development in European discourse studies spearheaded by Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Teun van Dijk, and others, has become one of the most influential and visible branches of discourse analysis". Its purpose is to analyse "opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language… more specifically… real, and often extended, instances of social interaction which take (partially) linguistic form" (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000:448 -- referring to Wodak).

But although CDA may be seen as a "shared perspective" (Richardson, 2007:44), it is not an "homogenous method, school or paradigm" (*ibid*.: 45). As the following discussion will show, it is in fact quite a diverse and often confusing conglomeration of theories and methods. This study therefore needs to make its position clear. The theoretical direction followed (up to a point) in this study was pioneered by Norman Fairclough (1998) and applied by Richardson (2007) while the method of analysis was adapted from Van Dijk (1998).

Fairclough (1998) developed a three-stage version of CDA, a focus on texts, discursive practices, and social practices, in response to criticism from Bourdieu that "internal analysis" (close textual analysis) should be placed in the context of the particular "political field and its wider social frame" (p. 143). This study shares Bourdieu's concern and criticism that CDA can become caught up in technical linguistic analysis, rather than on focusing on the contextual power relations that are made apparent in and by the text.

It is perhaps understandable that CDA could be prone to internal linguistic analysis. Wodak (2005:xi) traces the roots of CDA back to "the Critical Linguistics of the 1970s", but since then CDA took on board various influences. Wodak continues (*ibid*.):

> ...the cross-fertilisation between linguistics and the social sciences was expanded and enriched into a remarkably interdisciplinary and international project.

Chilton (2005:22), however, states that although CDA has been an interdisciplinary approach from its inception, it has been "selectively" so. Chilton (2005:46) is therefore particularly critical of CDA's ability to pursue the "most perplexing questions" concerning "the nature of the human mind, of human language, of human language use and of human society". In taking stock of the perceived shortcomings of CDA, including "an important theoretical lack in its own terms", Chilton (2005:22) posits that it is possible that "we do not actually need CDA". Through the selection of CDA as a method, this researcher clearly disagrees with Chilton (2005) above. CDA neatly aligns with the theoretical framework of this study and enables a structured empirical analysis through a number of central concepts formulated by Bourdieu and Foucault.

Fairclough (1998) borrows and adapts the term "order of discourse" from Foucault -- in whose view social domains can be associated with structured configurations of genres and discourses. With the "political order of discourse", Fairclough (1998:143) refers to "the structured configuration of genres and discourses which constitutes political discourse, the system -- albeit an open an open and shifting one -- which defines and delimits its political discourse, at a given point in time". In setting out three "sorts of analysis" -- analysis of texts, analysis of discourse practice of text production, distribution and consumption, and analysis of social and cultural practice which frame discourse practices and texts -- Fairclough (1998:144) emphasises that "the link between texts and society/culture is seen as mediated by discourse practices".

Thus, according to Fairclough (1998), discourse analysis should have a dual focus: on "communicative events" and on the "order of discourse", or in other words: "fields of social practice seen in specifically discursive terms". Fairclough (2003:204) refers to the view of Bourdieu and Wacquant that "social research needs the contribution of discourse analysis" because of the "significance of language in...socio-economic transformations". He continues (*ibid*.):

> CDA can enhance it, just as engaging with Bourdieu's sociological theory and research can enhance CDA.

Dent (2008: 200) accepts journalism as a discursive field, or "discursive formation in the Foucauldian sense". He explains that this means that "the actions, or practices, of journalists

best be understood as a set of behaviours limited by their understanding of what it is to be a journalist" (*ibid.*).

Following Fairclough, Richardson (2007:2) attributes much "power and significance" to especially "news journalism" in society and suggests three levels of analysis: "on the material realities of society in general; on the practices of journalism; and on the character and function of journalistic language more specifically". This study, which takes all three of these levels into account, argues that the analysis needs to be extended to areas outside traditional news coverage, such as arts journalism, because power struggles between different social groups are often also waged on a cultural level through the use of language and discourse. I also accept Fairclough's argument that CDA is not "the whole answer" and that it should be "properly integrated with other forms of social analysis" (1998:143), in this case interviews with arts journalists.

Carpentier & De Cleen (2007:274) argue that from the CDA perspective, the media are seen as "important public spaces and media discourse as a site of power and social struggle". They provide a brief overview of the "significant number of valuable contributions to media studies" within CDA and specially refer to the groundbreaking work of Van Dijk (mentioned above) providing a framework for "analysing news discourse, especially newspaper articles" (*ibid.*). The particular methodological contribution of Van Dijk (1998) to this study will be addressed in section 4.2.2 below.

In the following section a few major points of criticism against CDA will be outlined and responded to.

4.2.1 Criticism of CDA

Chilton (2005:23) argues that if discourse constructs social reality, "then the construction can only be taking place in the minds of (interacting) individuals. He concludes that if CDA is to be a "research enterprise" then "what goes on inside people's heads must become a prime concern", and CDA should thus explore "contemporary cognitive science and psychology" (*ibid.*). Glynos *et al*. (2009:17) describe "deterministic tendencies linked to power and social structure and its concomitant neglect of the subject" as main criticism against CDA. They repeat the claim that CDA must draw on social psychology in order to "shed light on the

processes of interaction between text and context (and to acknowledge the influence of context upon possible readings of text)" (*ibid*.).

Besides noticing the unexplained tension between Chilton's (2005) declaration in the section above that CDA is most likely expendable and his call for its further extension, I would also argue that Bourdieu's concept of habitus -- as a socialised and embodied agency of the individual subject -- provides a strong psychological element to CDA. Habitus describes not only (in Chilton's words) what happens in the heads of people but even what happens in their heads without them knowing that it is happening. Habitus would therefore also arguably obviate/correct/avoid the determinism between structure and agency that Glynos *et al*. (2009) describe as a weakness of CDA.

Richardson (2007:6) states that it is "strange that the discursive reproduction of class inequalities remains an under-developed issue for CDA", because he views CDA as an "approach to language use that aims to *explore* and *expose* the roles that discourse plays in reproducing (or resisting) social inequalities" (original emphasis). Class, for Richardson (quoting Murdoch), remains a "fundamental structuring principle of every aspect of life in late capitalism" (*ibid*.). As the discussion in Chapter 2 showed, Bourdieu's theory of the symbolic power of language and the structuring principles of values and judgments of taste through (amongst others) the introduction of concepts of cultural capital and habitus, has been built on class analysis, which makes it a valuable tool for the development of CDA in this regard.

In sum, this study is thus centrally guided by the following view of CDA expressed by Fairclough (2003:210):

> ...CDA as a resource for critical social research...is best used in combination with theoretical and analytical resources in various areas of social science.

4.2.2 Van Dijk's model of CDA

Van Dijk (1998:61-63) suggests the following CDA model for locating and analysing "opinions and ideologies in the press": (a) examining the context of the discourse; (b) identifying which groups, power relations, and conflicts are involved; (c) looking for positive

and negative opinions about Us and Them; (d) spelling out the presupposed and the implied, and (e) examining all formal structures that (de)emphasise polarised group opinions.

Judged on face value alone, Van Dijk's (1998) model is clearly compatible with the Fairclough's (1998) contextual approach to CDA accepted for this study in the previous sections. Similar to Fairclough, Van Dijk's model entails analysis of social practice (context of discourse), discursive practice (power relations involved in journalistic production), and texts (looking for prominent themes and strategies in newspaper texts).

For the purposes of this study, however, the Van Dijk model is deemed preferable because it provides a more organic and flexible structure to the analysis of arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) than the three-step Flairclough model. In the case of the latter the steps of research moves either from the micro (text) to the macro (context) level, or vice versa, while Van Dijk's model allows for overlapping and multi-directional analysis. In other words, the connection between text and context in the Van Dijk model is less rigid, as his five instead of the three categories of the Fairclough model already indicates.

The argument here is that the Fairclough model would inevitably require including a rather technical textual analysis on a micro-level, even if it is then counter-balanced by and compensated for in the other two contextual steps. In comparison, the Van Dijk model allows a stronger emphasis on the *context* of discourse -- without losing sight of or excluding a focus on the textual mechanism. The major discursive shifts and trends in arts journalism at *Die Burger* over a decade cannot be realistically and adequately mapped through a search that is limited to textual strategies such as presuppositions, rhetorical tropes, hyperbole, metonym, and puns (see Richardson, 2007: 62-70). A more contextual approach, in line with the social approach of Bourdieu and the emphasis on power relations in society as put forward by Foucault (the theoretical framework underpinning this study), is therefore required. Furthermore, strong scholarly support for this view is to be found in Jones & Collins (2006), who argue against a "discourse analysis" grounded in "segregational linguistics". They take issue with "the use made of familiar linguistic methods and techniques in the service of political and ideological analysis by proponents of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) -- and especially in the work of its leading proponent Norman Fairclough" (*ibid.*: 29).

Jones & Collins (2006:29) argue that "the theoretical shortcomings of CDA" can be traced back to "their roots in the orthodox linguistic conception of language and communication on which CDA is based". They continue (*ibid*.: 30):

> Communicative acts, then, are inseparable in form and meaning from the distinctive composition and dynamic of the relevant field of action into which they are pitched, and as such, demand for their skilled production and interpretation the kind of knowledge and insight that can only be supplied by experienced, well-informed, and critically minded participants in the relevant field, or at least, by those prepared to immerse themselves seriously and critically in the task of detailed reconstruction of the relevant actions and events.

In other words, translated to journalism, the argument of Jones & Collins (2006:30) would go something like this: a journalistic discourse is a matter of journalism and a matter for journalistic analysis and judgment. In terms of their particular focal point, political discourse, they explain (*ibid*.):

> To get at its political or ideological significance we must apply our politically attuned eyes and ears to a concrete analysis of the specific political conjuncture to which the document belongs and contributes in some way; "linguistic" analysis cannot help us with this. More specifically, as we shall try to show, the critical interrogation and interpretation of political discourse involves searching out, piecing together, and thinking through a mass of relevant empirical facts. In other words, to understand and critically respond to communicative practices and products, in whatever domain, we need to know the relevant business inside out.

Thus Jones & Collins (2006:42) state that "the understanding and interpretation of what the relevant or significant communicational forms, meanings, and patterns are in a particular situation or event is something that emerges in the course of detailed empirical investigation of the relevant event in all its complexity". They then summarise their point as follows (*ibid*.):

> There is simply no method or procedure of discourse analysis to be applied short of this process of deciding what words mean in the course of interpretatively reconstructing an entire action or event to which the words contribute.

Agreeing with Jones & Collins (2006) on this point (but not with their final conclusion that CDA may in fact be totally expendable), Richardson (2007:40) states that in journalism research a "process- or practice-orientated approach would allow new insights into the integrated examination of news practices, news values and audience role". He repeats a claim by Verschueren that "too much discourse analysis of journalism is ignorant of the 'structural and functional properties of the news gathering and reporting processes'" (Richardson, 2007:40). Thus, by opting for a decidedly contextual approach as propagated by Jones & Collins (2006), this study will arguably contribute to the development of CDA in an area identified by Richardson (2007:40) as a "lacuna".

This study will therefore focus on discovering larger themes in *Die Burger's* reporting of arts and culture rather than selecting a relatively small sample of texts for micro-analysis. As Blommaert & Bulcaen (2000:453) caution:

> In this type of research [CDA], empirical data analysis is directly fed into a larger picture of what discourse and discourse modes do in society. The question remains, however, whether such large-scale transformations in societies can be demonstrated on the basis of empirical data that are, in effect, restricted in scope, size, and time range.

Admittedly, even a time range of a decade and numerous texts from one particular newspaper can still be regarded as "restricted" in terms of major shifts in society. The counter-argument is that it could have been even more so with a different approach to CDA.

In sum, the five categories of the Van Dijk model of CDA will be applied to select and analyse journalistic discourses in *Die Burger* (1990-1999). Particular word use in texts will be considered at times but only in as far as they can be related to the context of their production and consumption.

In terms of practical application, the categories of the Van Dijk model will be interpreted for the purposes of the research topic and adjusted in the research process in response to circumstances and findings. The five categories will be maintained (but interpreted/adapted to suit the particular research focus) while some sub-categories may be generated as part of the processes of selection and analysis. This following version of Van Dijk's model is therefore presented at the start of the empirical leg of the project (the descriptions in brackets are indicative of the particular interpretation for the study):

a) examining the context of the discourse (some of the fundamental changes that occurred in society between 1990 and 1999); (b) identifying which groups, power relations, and conflicts are involved (arts journalists and political journalists expressing their views in content); (c) looking for positive and negatives opinions about Us and Them (where arts journalists positions themselves as an Us in relation to other role players in popular debates); (d) spelling out the presupposed and the implied (recurrent themes, topics and strategies in debates and opinions in the newspapers); and (e) examining all formal structures that (de)emphasise polarised group opinions (which issues are selected [or not] for coverage and where and how debates are presented in the newspaper).

4.3 Data gathering and analysis

In the following sections, data gathering and analysis procedures through CDA and semi-structured in-depth interviews will be discussed in detail. Although data gathering and analysis often entail two largely separate activities, they will be treated and discussed together here. The main reason is that the contextual approach outlined above entails a large overlap between selection and analysis. This point will become clear in the overview below.

4.3.1 Text selection and analysis

A chronological search of copies of the daily edition of the main body of the Western Cape edition of *Die Burger* between 1 January 1990 and 31 December 1999 was performed in the newspaper depository of J.S. Gericke library at Stellenbosch University. As a pilot study indicated, this process entailed paging through each newspaper from front to back while making detailed notes of particular reports, trends, and design elements. Specific articles were earmarked for filing and further analysis by recording the complete reference (author-date

system). Through these recorded references, articles were located through an electronic search on the on-line archives of *Die Burger* (http://argief.dieburger.com/cgi-bin/dieburger.cgi). In this way an extensive database of published reports in the newspaper was collected and saved for reference. This procedure was adopted for various reasons.

Firstly, it was deemed necessary to page through the actual newspaper in sequence to view arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) in its proper historic context. By concentrating on the electronic archives only, a contextual overview would have been very difficult. It would also not have been possible to see the lay-out and design of pages, the different weights ascribed to articles through, for instance, the size of headlines, and the use of graphic elements.

On the other hand, electronic technology enabled more convenient and time-efficient data gathering. Without the electronic archives one probably had to photo-copy numerous articles form the actual newspapers in the library. Instead, articles were located through a quick reference and/or key-word search; copies were made and saved electronically for analysis and reference.

Practically, the selection and analysis process entailed four steps.

Firstly, the front page of each edition was scanned to get a sense of what was regarded as the most important news reports and other items of that particular day. Political, economic, and cultural themes and trends developing over weeks, months and years (that were perhaps not as easily noticeable for daily readers of *Die Burger* in the 1990s) became visible in the process. The researcher revisited the newspaper content between one and two decades later (depending on the publication date) over a relatively short period (roughly six months were set aside for this part of the study). This phase was covered by category (a) in the adapted Van Dijk model -- namely a focus on fundamental contextual changes that occurred in society between 1990 and 1999.

Secondly, also on the front page and on subsequent news pages of the main body of the newspaper, the researcher looked for examples of arts journalism (as defined in Chapter 1). The phase related, in the main, to category (e) in Van Dijk's model -- which cultural issues are selected for coverage and where and how debates are presented in the newspaper.

Thirdly, the content search and analysis involved a specific focus on the arts and culture pages of *Die Burger*. This phase was structured by three categories: category (c), where arts journalists position themselves in relation to other role players in popular discourses ("Us and Them"); category (d), recurrent themes, topics, and strategies in debates and opinions in the newspapers relating to arts and cultural journalism; and category; (e), the selection and way of presentation of coverage.

This first three phases of selection and analysis were aimed at addressing two of the three specific research questions, how did the changes in South African society impact on the discourse and practices of arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999)?; and, how did arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) contribute to existing and/or new hierarchies of discursive power through cultural distinctions in a changing society?

Lastly, the search and analysis focused on the editorial and op-ed pages where the newspaper expressed its official views and policies in editorials and where the columns and personal opinions of, amongst others, senior editors, intellectuals, politicians, and readers were presented. Category (b) of Van Dijk's model -- a search for signs of conflict between arts journalists and others groups, including their own political colleagues -- guided this phase.

This last phase of research was aimed at addressing the remaining specific research question: How did arts journalists position themselves in relation to the official editorial view of *Die Burger* (1990-1999)?

The argument is that all four phases of text selection and analysis, guided by the five adapted categories Van Dijk-model, enabled the researcher to approach an answer to the general research question formulated in Chapter 1: What do the discourses and practices of arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) reveal about their role as manufacturers of cultural capital in a society in transition to democracy?

4.3.2 Semi-structured in-depth interviews and analysis

This study accepts Du Plooy's (1995:112) contention that in-depth interviews can provide "extensive data concerning participants' opinions, recollections, values, motivations and

feelings". In this case especially, the recollections, opinions, motivations and values of arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) are at issue.

McIntosh & Morse (2009:81) state that unstructured interviews are the most commonly used method in qualitative research. As a research strategy, it allows participants the freedom to tell their stories without the researcher's control of a framework of questions to guide the interviews (*ibid.*). In this study, however, a measure of structure will be provided to the interviews in order to focus the discussion clearly on the research topic.

Du Plooy (1995:112) argues that in-depth interviews ("a conversation with a purpose") can be used as part of participant-observation studies or by itself. In this study the latter applies. She notes that her use of the term "in-depth interview" includes "intensive interview", "informal interview", "unstructured, conversational interview", "ethnographic interview", and "focused interview" (*ibid.*). Priest (1996:26) uses the terms "depth interview" and "semi structured interview", and argues that the researcher may begin with a set of questions or concerns but is free to engage with the respondent using follow-up questions, to re-phrase a question, and to ask for clarifications. These suggestions by Priest (1996) are all accepted and were employed as part of a semi-structured in-depth interview process.

Similarly, Kvale & Brinkmann (2009:99) consider the open structure of research interviewing "an asset as well as a problem" and suggest a seven stage research programme to support the research process (p. 102). The seven stages are: thematising, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analysing, verifying, and reporting. They contrast their "idealized and formal presentation" with that of Bourdieu. Bourdieu argued for a "more dynamic and flexible approach to interview research" (p.104). In this study, interviews form only part of the methodology, but the sequence suggested above by Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) in this regard, as well as Bourdieu's advice to maintain a measure of flexibility, seem logical and valuable.

In order to execute semi-structured in-depth interviews with selected editorial staff members of *Die Burger*, the study followed similar suggestions by Du Plooy (1995:113) with regards to proper planning. These suggestions include that topics must be established before the interviews by doing background research; that a sample of individuals must be obtained in terms of both purpose and availability (and with the option to include snowball sampling if it should become necessary); and the reasons for the interview should be properly explained to

interviewees beforehand. Interviewees must also be made aware of the proposed duration of the interviews; and that sensitive information will be treated confidentially. These issues will be addressed systematically below.

4.3.2.1 Topics/ questions

The researcher generated a list of topics and questions for the semi-structured in-depth interviews through the CDA of published discourses in *Die Burger* (1990-1999). In other words, from the findings of the CDA of texts (discussed in Chapter 5), a list of questions for discussion with respondents was generated. More information about the process and nature of the list of questions will come to light in Chapter 6 where findings from the semi-structured in-depth interviews will be presented. The argument is that by enabling arts journalists to respond directly to findings from the textual analysis in this way, a much more rounded and nuanced ("holistic" in Du Plooy's [1995] words) version of the research object will be constituted. In other words, triangulation is achieved and the study gains in integrity and validity.

4.3.2.2 Sample of interview respondents

Following Du Plooy (1995), sampling was done with purpose and availability in mind. Because of the design of the study, the following respondents - in total they arguably represent the core of arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) - were earmarked for participation.

The first two respondents on the list are considered major contextual influences on arts journalism at *Die Burger* in the research period. They are Ton Vosloo, chairman of Naspers, and Ebbe Dommisse, editor of *Die Burger* from 1990-1999.

Next in line were the arts editors who were involved in and around the period of research: Kerneels Breytenbach (until the end of 1989) and Johann Botha (1990-1996). After leaving *Die Burger* in 1990, Breytenbach still regularly contributed columns and reviews to the arts pages as a freelancer. Unfortunately, the arts editor from 1996 onwards, Wilhelm Grütter passed away in 2001 (a few months after his retirement at the age of 65). The researcher next engaged the following most senior and long-serving members of the arts page during the

decade under observation: André le Roux, books editor and theatre critic (until 1992); Zirk van den Berg, fine arts specialist (until 1992); Emile Joubert, popular culture generalist (until 1995); Egbert de Waal, senior writer and sub-editor (1994-1996); Cobus van Bosch, fine arts specialist (from 1996), and Herman Wasserman, literary specialist and popular culture generalist (from 1996).

Lastly interviews were conducted with three of the most prominent and enduring freelance contributors who engaged in major cultural debates during the 1990s: Koos Human (classical music and literature); Melvyn Minnaar (fine arts), and Joan Hambidge (literature and film). Their experience and knowledge as outside/insiders to arts journalism at *Die Burger* are deemed valuable for this study.

A few junior members of the arts desk, who stayed less than a year each during the research period, were not considered as participants. An editorial assistant whose main was task was the compilation of service schedules for television and who did little independent editorial production was also not considered. The fact that this sample is dominated by white men can be ascribed to race/ethnic and gender politics at *Die Burger* (as was touched on in Chapter 3).

Du Plooy (1995:114) discusses the advantages and limitations of in-depth interviews. In sum, although in-depth interviews provide "a wealth of detail", generalisability is often problematic if the sampling is non-random, and it may also be difficult to transcribe code and analyse the data. The first potential problem was less applicable to this study because the target population was relatively small to begin with; little doubt should exist that the participants who were selected do not represent a strong core of arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999). Secondly, this study did not experience major problems with the coding and analysis of interview data. As discussed above, the CDA findings provided a basic structure for the interview data gathering process. By using the same five categories of Van Dijk's model employed in the textual analyis to structure interview data, a more or less direct comparison between findings from the CDA of content and views of arts journalists became possible. In other words, because the interview data analysis entailed a direct response to the CDA findings, the need for a separate coding system disappeared.

4.3.2.3 Practical and ethical considerations

Du Plooy (1995:114) warns that participants in in-depth interviews may not be telling the truth while the researcher may inadvertently communicate their own attitudes through the framing of questions, tone of voice and nonverbal cues. Priest (1996:26) also stresses that researchers "must work hard to be sure they are not imposing their own worldview but gaining a meaningful understanding of what might be a very different perspective". This researcher took note of these suggestions. Particularly because the researcher has worked in arts journalism with all of the respondents at some stage, special care was taken not to suggest or project personal views to the respondents, either verbally or non-verbally. The researcher also maintained a professional distance and kept the interview process focused on the topics and questions. On the other hand, the practical background and knowledge of the researcher in the field of research counted as an asset when it came to judging and verifying truth-claims by respondents. Furthermore, disputes of fact were verified against versions of the same events by other participants in the study.

McIntosh & Morse (2009:81) consider the emotional implications of unstructured in-depth interviews -- "because participants are free to delve into their innermost emotional lives to the level they choose" -- and suggest ethical considerations. Because the interviews in this study used a general list of questions/ topics focused on the research topic to start off and direct the conservation, there was no danger (in the researcher's opinion) of personal emotional trauma. Still, to protect participants, this study sought and gained ethical clearance from the Ethics Committee of Stellenbosch University. The process resulted in the drafting of a formal informed consent form that interview participants were required to read and agree to beforehand (see Addendum B).

According to the form, participation was voluntary and could have been terminated at any time (also once the process had already started). If, during the interview, the participant felt that an issue or topic was sensitive and "off the record", this had to be clearly stated and respected by the researcher. Only information in the public domain (available to and obtainable by the general public) was considered for publication in the research report. Participants were warned not to participate if they wanted to raise confidential matters and were ensured that a copy of transcribed statements for publication would be provided for consent. The informed consent form also states that participants were not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of their participation in this research study.

As instructed by the Ethics Committee, the researcher also sought and received official written permission from the editor of *Die Burger* to consult with current staff members on its premises (see Addendum C).

4.3.2.4 Criticism of interviews

The discussion in the previous section on data gathering has already pointed to some of the general points of criticism -- related to their unstructured nature and possible harmful personal consequences for participants -- against in-depth interviews as a research method. It has been established that this study adapted a measure of structure to guide the process while participants were protected in terms of an informed consent form.

However, the more specific underlying criticism against interviews as a research method in this study still remains -- the challenge in attaining a balance between subjectivism and objectivism in the treatment of the findings generated from interviews. Kvale & Brinkmann (2009:241) summarise the question as follows:

> ....how to get beyond the extremes of a subjective relativism in interview research, where everything can mean everything, and an absolutist quest for the one and only true, objective meaning.

Because the quest for a theoretical middle ground is a guiding theme in this study, this issue seems particularly relevant. Kvale & Brinkmann (2009:241) argue that the answer lies in the concept of validation. In dismissing the idea that "questions of validity, reliability, and generalization" are "oppressive positivist concepts that hamper a creative and emancipatory qualitative research" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009:244), they retain "traditional" and "common language" (p.245) conceptions of reliability and validity. Reliability is defined as "the consistency and trustworthiness of research findings" (2009: 245) and validity refers "in ordinary language to the truth, the correctness, and the strength of a statement" (p.246).

The research findings will thus be considered practically (and not universally or philosophically) reliable and valid based on the "quality of the researcher's craftsmanship throughout an investigation, on continually checking, questioning, and theoretically interpreting the findings" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009:249). Although they argue (in reference

to Flyvbjerg) that it is general misunderstanding that one cannot generalise on the basis of an individual case study (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009:264), this study does not aim for general findings. But it does argue that it can produce reliable and valid findings in terms of the role and positioning of arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999). The argument is strengthened by the fact that the methodology combines interviews and a CDA of the content of the newspaper. Thus, in sum, interview findings will enable the researcher to address the one general and three specific research questions with much more certainty and clarity than would have been possible with a CDA of content alone.

4.4. Summary

I argue that CDA is compatible with the theoretical concepts of both Bourdieu and Foucault as referred to in this study. In fact, one of the main developers and proponents of CDA, Norman Fairclough (1998), refers specifically to both Foucault and Bourdieu in support of the development of his three-stage version of CDA. He was responding to criticism from Bourdieu that "internal analysis" (close textual analysis) should be placed in the context of the particular "political field and its wider social frame" (p. 143).

To help establish the context of discourse, a CDA model suggested by Van Dijk (1998) was adapted and applied for the textual analysis. Findings from the CDA contributed to a response to the general research question about the role of arts journalism in a society in transition to democracy and also to specific research question (a) (how did the changes in society impact on the discourse and practices of arts journalism at *Die Burger* [1990-1999]?).

In order to respond to specific research question (b) (how did arts journalists position themselves in relation to the official editorial view of *Die Burger* [1990-1999]?), arts and entertainment pages were analysed in relation to the paper's political positioning specifically editorials and political columns by senior editors on the editorial and opinion pages in the period 1990-1999. Clear instances and topics of obvious correspondence (that is, agreement and disagreement) between arts journalists and bearers of official newspaper policy were located through a systematically chronological archive search and then analysed using Van Dijk's (1998) suggestions.

In order to respond to specific research question (c) (how did arts journalists at *Die Burger* [1990-1999] contribute to new "visions and divisions" through cultural distinctions in a changing society?), arts and culture coverage in *Die Burger* (1990-1999) was analysed, using Van Dijk's (1998) suggestions, with a particular focus on discourses around "Eurocentric" and "indigenous African" arts and cultural forms.

In order to tri-angulate findings from CDA and to give journalists at *Die Burger* a change to "talk back" at the findings, unstructured in-depth interviews were conducted with key members of the editorial staff who were able to shed light on the positioning and role of arts journalists during that period and the impact of changes in society on their work. This contributed to formulating a response in reaction to the general research question: What do the discourses and practices of arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) reveal about their role as manufacturers of cultural capital in a society in transition to democracy?

Although the suggestions above will be duly considered in order to produce sound findings, this study does not aim to generalise about the role of arts journalism in society. The specific narrow research focus, using qualitative methods, means that this study will have to be replicated in a different context for more general trends to emerge.

Chapter 5: Text analysis and discussion

This chapter is structured around suggestions by Van Dijk (1998:61-63) as part of his critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach to analysing "opinions and ideologies in the press" (see Chapter 4). The CDA method of this study was developed within a theoretical framework that included concepts from Bourdieu's field theory and Foucault's discourse theory (see Chapter 3). The aim here is to track and discuss shifting cultural discourses in the content of *Die Burger* (1990-1999).

Van Dijk's model consists of five categories: (a) examining the context of the discourse; (b) identifying which groups, power relations and conflicts are involved; (c) looking for positive and negatives opinions about Us and Them; (d) spelling out the presupposed and the implied; and (e) examining all formal structures that (de)emphasise polarised group opinions. These categories structured the data collection and analysis of newspaper text in four stages, outlined in detail in Chapter 4.

Firstly, the front page of each edition was scanned to monitor political, economic, and cultural themes and trends developing over weeks, months, and years. This phase was in the main structured by category (a) in the Van Dijk model as interpreted for this study, namely a focus on fundamental contextual changes that occurred in society between 1990 and 1999 at *Die Burger* and in society.

Secondly, examples of arts journalism (as defined in Chapter 2) were also located and analysed on the front page and on subsequent news pages of the main body of the newspaper. The phase related in the main to category (e) in the interpreted Van Dijk's model, in which cultural issues were selected for coverage and where and how debates are presented in the newspaper.

Thirdly the text search and analysis involved a focus on the arts and culture pages of *Die Burger* specifically. This phase was structured by three categories, namely category (c): where arts journalists positions themselves in relation to other role players in popular discourses ("Us and Them"); category (d): recurrent themes, topics and strategies in debates and opinions in the newspapers relating to arts and cultural journalism; and category (e): the selection and way of presentation of coverage.

Lastly, the search and analysis focused on the editorial and the op-ed pages, where the newspaper expressed its official views and policies in editorials and where the columns and personal opinions of amongst others senior editors, intellectuals, politicians and readers were presented. Category (b) of Van Dijk's model -- a search for signs of conflict between arts journalists and others groups, including their own political colleagues -- guided this phase.

The following presentation and discussion of findings will follow the chronological structure of the Van Dijk model. Firstly, the context of discourse (some of the fundamental changes that occurred in society between 1990 and 1999 as they were reported in *Die Burger*) will be outlined. Secondly, the presentation will turn to hegemonic struggles between arts journalists and other role players at the newspaper and in society. The third topic focuses on strategies of labeling and division which arts journalists employed. The fourth deals with main discourses in arts and culture coverage. The fifth and last category of presentation focuses on discursive strategies in selection and representation of arts and culture coverage in the newspaper in that period. As Chapter 4 also indicated, the method of analysis was generative -- in other words although the basic structure of the Van Dijk model was kept intact, specific sub-categories suggested by emerging pattern and trends were included as sub-headings and contributed to the eventual structure of the presentation of findings.

5.1 Context of discourse

Because of the importance ascribed in this study to the context in which the discourses of arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) occurred, the following section will consider changes in the political, economic, and cultural field of the newspaper as well as the habitus of relevant individuals. The political context will include the following sub-categories that were generated in this study: the relationship between *Die Burger* and the NP, the TRC, and communism respectively. The continued commercialisation of Naspers and an example of corporate economic pressure on *Die Burger* will be analysed in the economic field. The discussion of changes in the cultural field involves the emerging sub-categories of censorship and boycotts, Africanisation, and language. Lastly, the influence of certain powerful individual journalists in constructing and circulating discourses will be discussed under the heading of "Habitus". The aim in this section is to look how the changing context on one level (political) has implications for the others (economic and cultural) and *vice versa*.

5.1.1 Political field

Given its particular location in the field of cultural production, it was inevitable that the restructuring in the political landscape in the 1990s would also directly affect *Die Burger* -- as can clearly be deduced from an overview of discourses that circulated in the newspaper in that period. The discussion that follows traces the development of distinct discursive strategies in reaction to the growing threat to the power base of the ruling NP and Afrikaner hegemony.

5.1.1.1 *Die Burger* and the NP

When Naspers and *Die Burge*r celebrated its 75th year in the middle of 1990, the newspaper made its political and cultural alliances clear. Although the scope of Naspers had arguably already been extended beyond narrow sectarian interests at that stage, *Die Burger* was still in partnership with the NP and a mouthpiece for Afrikaners, their language, and culture (see DB, 1990/07/26:20; DB, 1990/07/28:12a; DB, 1990/07/28:12b; DB, 1990/07/30:7).The news that the NP was finally accepting members of "all race groups" to join the party was announced with great prominence and acclaim by *Die Burger* (see DB, 1990/09/01:1 -- "NP oop vir almal" [NP open for all]).

Thereafter, as apartheid was slowly dismantled, *Die Burger* displayed a clear discursive strategy. Regarding the opening up of white residential areas, *Die Burger* supported the move but with the clear provision that "civilized standards" must be maintained (DB, 1991/02/07:14). The editorial stated (*ibid.*):

> One can have understanding for people who are worried about the maintenance of standards in residential areas in light of the proposed scrapping of the Group Areas Act….But the (NP) government has again…given the assurance…that strict norms and measures will be implemented to guard against the deterioration of neighbourhoods and that property devaluate due to unhealthy living conditions there….Left radicals who see in this move sinister government motives such as the hidden maintenance of apartheid, are just plain wrong. It is only

> measures which exist also in other civilised countries…such as America…[xv]

A similar call to the maintenance of "standards" characterised *Die Burger's* editorial response when black students protested against the financial and academic admission policies of the University of Cape Town and demanded access (DB, 1991/02/15:10). The editorial reiterated the idea that a call for standard was not an act of racist exclusion, but that it was "in the interest of satisfying also the aspirations of black people" that the country should "remain competitive" and "develop quickly" (*ibid.*).

However, the clear implication that "black" could mean a lowering of "civilised standards" indicated that the discursive strategy to maintain white dominance in post-apartheid South-Africa would entail a replacement of the rhetoric of "race" with that of "class" constructed discursively from the perspective of a Western value system. In terms of the strategies of denial of racism developed by Durrheim *et al* (2005) -- see Chapter 2 -- this is an example of "dislocating racism" (also known as "yes, but-excuses" [see Wasserman, 2005:25]). In other words, the fact that whites had amassed economic and cultural capital through a racist system that favoured them during apartheid, is disregarded by an emphasis on "universal civilised standards".

Despite its clear support for the NP in the turbulent post-1990 negotiation period, *Die Burger* also occasionally criticised the party, especially for a perceived lack of support for Afrikaans (see DB, 1993/03/03:10; DB, 1993/03/01:8), but also on the issue of freedom of speech and media freedom (DB, 1993/11/18:16). The main political commentator of *Die Burger*, Dawie, also occasionally expressed doubt about the political will of the NP to stand up to the ANC in negotiating a new dispensation that would entrench federalism and safeguard the rights of cultural and language minorities (see DB, 1992/10/03:10). On one occasion, State President De Klerk responded directly to Dawie's criticism at a party congress (see DB, 1992/10/07:2) -- a clear example of the meta-capital (Couldry, 2003b) that *Die Burger* could extend across different fields (in this case from the cultural to the political field). In turn, Dawie reacted positively in his next column in which he declared that the NP now showed "a renewed fighting spirit" (DB, 1992/10/07:14).

After the NP finally lost power in the 1994 elections, *Die Burger* reported that the party "said a tearful goodbye after 46 years" (DB, 1994/05/03:1). Thereafter, the newspaper also critically reflected on the growing problems in the party (see DB, 1995/07/10:8), which eventually led to its demise. By 1997 it was clear that the NP was disintegrating (DB, 1997/01/10:2), but the newspaper remained optimistic that an anti-ANC coalition might at least gain some ground in the 1999 elections.

According to Arrie Rossouw, who replaced Dommisse as editor of *Die Burger* in 2000, his predecessor "asked the NP in 1990 to be released from its status as official NP mouthpiece" (DB, 2005/10/26:2). However, as the examples suggest, *Die Burger* was still investing its capital (political, symbolic, and cultural) in support of the NP for especially the first part of the 1990s. This finding corresponds with that of Baard (2007), who argues that the support of *Die Burger* for the NP never wavered until well after 1994. Even thereafter, the newspaper furiously resisted the TRC which was tasked in 1996 with investigating apartheid atrocities. Hostility was often aimed personally at the chairman, Archbishop Desmond Tutu[xvi] (Baard, 2007:50), who was "demonized", even according to Rossouw (DB, 2005/10/26:2) who confirmed that Dommisse regarded the commission as a biased witch-hunt against Afrikaners[xvii]. (In Chapter 6 Dommisse [2010] reflects on his positioning towards the NP and the TRC).

5.1.1.2 *Die Burger* and the TRC

At Naspers, and also in the newsroom of *Die Burger*, the TRC became a controversial and divisive issue. When the TRC invited the media to make representations about its role during apartheid, Naspers announced in 1997 that it would not do so (see DB, 1997/07/26:1 -- "Naspers sê vir WVK hy het niks om te bely" [Naspers told TRC it has nothing to confess]). According to Naspers chairman Ton Vosloo, the commission was "biased" and his company had done nothing to be ashamed of (*ibid.*). Instead of testifying, Naspers submitted into evidence official company history (1948-1990) in the form of the book *Oor grense heen* [Across Borders] written by Wiets Beukes (former editor of *Die Burger*) and published in 1992 -- when transition was already well on the way.

A group of about 127 Naspers journalists disagreed with the owners and managers of the company and sent a letter to the TRC in which they declared their recognition of the vital role

Afrikaans media played in sustaining apartheid and apologised for the hurt caused to black people via the system (see DB, 1997/09/27:10a -- “Meer as 100 van Naspers vra verskoning by WVK” [More than 100 of Naspers say sorry to TRC]). Vosloo, who often argued in public that especially by resisting the Afrikaner right wing Naspers actually helped to “throw out” apartheid (DB, 1997/08/15:2), subsequently described the dissident group as “disloyal to a great institution” and condemned their action as a “personal disappointment” (DB, 1997/09/30:10). Although Vosloo alleged that leaders of the group applied “undue pressure” to individuals to orchestrate resistance against Naspers (DB, 1997/09/27:10b), counter-claims also surfaced -- in other words, that managers and editors of some publications in the group in fact tried to intimidate journalists into not signing the letter of apology to the TRC (see DB, 1997/09/18:2). A few editorial staff members of *Die Burger*, including (only) three from the arts desk[xviii], were amongst the group of 127 that signed the letter. This context is important in terms of the research focus of this study because it raises the question whether the tension between management and individual journalists was transferred into content presented on the arts and entertainment pages of the newspaper (see discussion 5.2.1 below). It also raises the question of different levels of agency amongst arts journalists -- in other words, the consequences of the fact that the arts desk also did not appear to constitute a homogeneous political grouping.

5.1.1.3 *Die Burger* and communism

During apartheid, communism was a clear and powerful discursive marker in discourses of the justification of Afrikaner minority rule. The threat of the “godless” global communists and their overt support for black “terrorists” in Africa was routinely employed to strengthen Afrikaner (and white) hegemony. After the fall of communism, and when apartheid was crumbling in the early 1990s, *Die Burger* maintained an aggressive anti-communism discourse in opposition to the ANC, including the tactic to always refer to the ANC in terms of its alliance partner, the SACP (see DB, 1991/03/25:14). This trend continued virtually unchanged for the rest of the decade (see DB, 1993/09/15:10; DB, 1994/12/06:12).

The newspaper made no attempt to view the association between black liberation movements and communist states in a more comparative historic context. In contrast, *Die Burger* often argued that the NP of the 1990s must (no longer) be associated with apartheid. In other words, *Die Burger* was prepared to relativise the positioning and development of the party in terms of

its historical context (i.e. that Afrikaner-nationalism was a reaction to the devastation of Afrikaner communities during the Anglo-Boer War). By the same token, the newspaper continued to deny that the SACP also originated in a particular historical context and might have also have the potential to adapt to a new dispensation (see DB, 1999/01/16:8).

In this context noticeable tension arose when the political columnist Dawie reacted positively to an article in which SACP leader Joe Slovo[xix] ("him of all people") argued that Afrikaners (alone) cannot be blamed for apartheid because the system was already instigated before Afrikaner rule by British colonialism (see DB, 1993/06/16:10b). Dawie tried to balance his aversion to Slovo and the SACP with an opportunity to argue the case for Afrikaners (and against their traditional colonial foe -- the British). Dawie's express political aim was to indicate growing recognition that "Afrikaans and Afrikaners would be some of the cornerstones on which a future South Africa must be built" (*ibid.*).

The so-called "opening-up" of China in the 1990s also created some ambiguity at *Die Burger*. While the newspaper was furiously attacking the ANC and SACP for their alleged checkered past and outdated policies, it was seemingly quite positive towards moves to establish formal links with a "former" communist state like China where arguably only marginal changes to an authoritarian one-party system were introduced at that stage (see DB, 1991/04/09:13; DB, 1991/04/10:9). Naspers, owner of *Die Burger*, in fact established significant media interests in China in subsequent decades (see the corporate website at www.Naspers.co.za).

5.1.1.4 *Die Burger* and Afrikaner identity

By the end of the decade, Dawie (most probably Dommisse) mused about the "question of what will happen to Afrikaners and Afrikaans in uncertain times in which countless holy houses are being overturned" (DB, 1999/12/18:12 -- "Afrikaners se oorlewing: rol moue op, daar's werk!" [The survival of Afrikaners: prepare yourself, there is work ahead!]). Interestingly enough, Dawie made it clear in this column (DB, 1999/12/18:12) that he was including all speakers of Afrikaans "who want to be included" -- thus "with disregard of skin colour and background" -- under the term "Afrikaner". He also duly recognised that some black speakers would reject the label (*ibid.*).

Dawie discussed the disappearance of peoples/nations ("volke") and their cultures and languages throughout the ages (*ibid.*). Referring to governments and leaders who have disregarded and stifled cultural diversity in the past, he then blamed the ANC for the predicament of Afrikaans. Dawie posited that just as after the Anglo-Boer War "the future is dark" for Afrikaners and Afrikaans (*ibid.*). He continued (*ibid.*):

> In order to let Afrikaners survive, their leaders, especially genl. J.B.M. Hertzog en pres. M.T. Steyn, thus decided to employ the language as mobilisation instrument so that Afrikaners could regain their self respect. It worked. Today the self respect of Afrikaners is again tarnished by the one-sided emphasis of the TRC (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) on the atrocities of their leaders. And once again they will have to grab the language issue to keep from going under.

But in calling Afrikaners to action in the new millennium Dawie did not produce a broad political strategy or goal. He merely criticised Afrikaans parents who -- "under these circumstances" -- send their children to English schools. Calling them "quitters who have thrown in the towel" Dawie stated that they "are doing a disservice to themselves, fellow-Afrikaners and in fact the whole country" (*ibid.*). He concluded on a positive note that "the message for the new millennium is that there is work to be done" (*ibid.*).

In the end, it would seem that for opinion leaders such as Dommisse, and arguably also for Naspers chairman Vosloo (see discussion below), the mobilisation of Afrikaners through Afrikaans after the Anglo-Boer War became a model to emulate. For instance, in the run-up to 1999, 100 years after the start of the war, *Die Burger* published numerous supplements and articles in the main body to mark the event.

In this context it is understandable why Naspers and *Die Burger* became so deeply involved with the promotion of Afrikaans on a cultural level -- amongst others through the sponsorship of nation-wide arts festivals after 1994. At the same time, it would seem that neither they nor the company they managed (and owned in part through large share-option schemes that were introduced post-apartheid) had an overarching political strategy that differed substantially from the national one that they found themselves in by the end of the decade.

With hindsight it becomes clear that at the beginning of the decade *Die Burger* misjudged the ability of the NP to control the process it has officially set in motion and underestimated the degree of unity in black political circles to achieve a negotiated settlement on their own terms (see DB, 1990/02/03:12). More to the point, in terms of the focus of this study, the newspaper arguably also overestimated the importance of the leadership role that the cultural heritage of Afrikaners, and especially the language, would play in the construction of a new national identity. *Die Burger* was correct in at least one respect: with international support (and pressure) the new democracy got its "booming" capitalist economy (*ibid.*), which the owners of *Die Burger*, Naspers, used to their advantage in order to prosper to unprecedented heights (Botma, 2006a).

5.1.2 Economic field

Despite the steady loss of political capital (closely tied to that of the faltering NP), *Die Burger* progressively improved its circulation figures during the 1990s (see DB, 1999/02/19:1; DB, 1998/08/06:1). In 1997 the newspaper announced that it was now "decidedly the market leader" in the Western Cape in comparison to its traditional English language rivals, *Argus* and *Cape Times* (see DB, 1997/02/21:1).This study did not investigate this phenomenon, but it is conceivable that the newspaper's aggressive promotion of discourses of opposition to African nationalism and Africanisation and its stance of protectionism towards Afrikaner/Afrikaans culture tapped into the grassroots fears of many members of the target audience. The fact that *Die Burger* also maintained and cultivated close relations to traditional and emerging sources of economic power in society (see discussion below), arguably also contributed to their continued relevance in the market place of regional newspapers in the decade.

A major development in the political economy of Naspers occurred in 1994 when the company was listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) (see DB, 1994/08/13:1). Interestingly enough, the move was first described in *Die Burger* in terms of the discourse of Afrikaner nationalism as "the biggest single (act of) empowerment of Afrikaners" (DB, 1994/09/20:16). Later post 1994, in correspondence with official pressure from the ANC-led government, Naspers shifted the emphasis of its financial restructuring to its support of official government policy of Black Economic Empowerment (see Botma, 2006a). This can be seen as a general strategy of the company to position itself closer to the new political elite

in various ways[xx]. But this does not mean that Naspers and a new political elite did not confront each other directly. Criticism from the ANC, put forward by Nelson Mandela, that the media industry was too "white and male dominated" (see DB, 1992/05/28:1) was dismissed by Ton Vosloo, chairman of Naspers, as "political rhetoric" and framed as a threat to "press freedom" (*ibid.*).

Although *Die Burger* was increasingly at pains to point out that the newspapers of Naspers "were not fighting for just one party any more" (DB, 1995/09/18:5a) -- and that *Die Burger* itself post 1994 considered itself as part of a "loyal opposition" (DB, 1994/05/04:12) -- traces of the discourse of Afrikaner nationalism were occasionally still visible, especially in relation to the role of Afrikaans in a new dispensation (see DB, 1995/09/18:5b). In general, however, one may argue that the newspaper's general support for a "free market" economic system (see DB, 1993/09/07:10) came to dominate its agenda at the expense of clear political partisanship. This growing importance of and focus on economic news at Naspers and *Die Burger* were eventually reflected in the extension of business coverage in the company's major newspapers (DB, 1998/10/26:10).

The inherent tension in the self-proclaimed role of loyal opponent to the government was illustrated when *Die Burger* prominently presented and positively framed a visit of President Mandela to the editorial offices in 1998. The report, DB, 1998/08/06:9, mentioned that the "charming" President "stole the hearts of staff members". During the visit Mandela was welcomed by Dommisse and presented with a framed front page of the newspaper, which prominently displayed a picture of Mandela releasing a white dove shortly before his inauguration in 1994 (*ibid.*). It is in fact conceivable that the ambivalent positioning towards leaders such as Mandela resulted from tension between conservative political ideals and economic fears and realities -- for instance the perceived threat to press freedom posed by the ANC and the possible negative implications for white-owned businesses resulting from policies to redress the inequalities of apartheid through the empowerment of blacks.

Influence from the private economic sector arguably played a role when *Die Burger* noticeably failed to comment editorially when Rembrandt, a leading light for the performing arts in the South African private sector during apartheid, announced its disengagement as a sponsor of visual arts after 1990. At that stage, *Die Burger* was actively campaigning for private sector involvement in the struggling performing arts sector as a remedy to what it

regarded as the unfair politically motivated targeting of Eurocentric traditions (see discussion below). One could therefore have expected at least some critical engagement when the tobacco company Rembrandt, run by Afrikaner tycoon Anton Rupert, announced that in 1993 it was ending a long association with the fine arts as sponsor of a major national arts competition and exhibition, the Cape Town Tri-annual (DB, 1992/02/07:1a).

A front-page report (*ibid.*), written by the Arts Editor, quoted a company spokesperson to the effect that the priorities of Rembrandt had changed and that money would in future be channelled into projects which would improve the lives of poor (black) South Africans (*ibid.*). The writer also mentioned "speculation" about a deteriorating relationship between the Rembrandt arts foundation and Marilyn Martin, the newly appointed director of the organiser of the event, the National Arts Gallery in Cape Town (*ibid.*). Martin was a controversial figure in the 1990s because her views on a future arts and cultural dispensation seemingly corresponded largely to that of the ANC[xxi]. Interview findings (discussed in Chapter 6) show that individual habitus might have played a role. One respondent, Melvyn Minnaar, suggested that a "personality class" between Martin and administrators of the Rembrandt arts foundation could have contributed to the fall-out.

But did *Die Burger* quietly support the move by Rembrandt/Rupert? It is possible that the powerful position of Rembrandt as one of the major advertisers of Naspers and *Die Burger* over decades deterred the newspaper from criticising Rembrandt for the suspension of its major support to the fine arts in this format.[xxii] The fact remains that the establishment of a more inclusive national fine arts dispensation after 1990 was arguably just as pressing and deserving as supporting the fine arts during apartheid. The other obvious question, which *Die Burger* also left unexplored around the issue of disengaging from the sponsorship of the fine arts in the 1990s, was whether Rembrandt's shift towards poverty alleviation in this way was politically inspired. A few months later, for example, Rupert contributed R250 000 to the fund established by *Die Burger* to raise money for the Naspers initiative to establish a foundation for the promotion of Afrikaans (see DB, 1992/06/06:1).

5.1.3 Cultural field

As the discussion in this section will illustrate, the hegemonic discourse at *Die Burger* about arts and culture during the 1990s included consensus about the so-called universality and

perceived detachment of the arts from political life (see also Chapter 6 for corresponding views expressed in interviews by respondents). This discourse was seemingly carried over from at least the preceding decade and originated in part from the complex discursive positioning of *Die Burger* towards the strategies, policies, and practices of cultural censorship of its close political ally -- the NP.

5.1.3.1 Censorship

Because cultural censorship was an integral part of the apartheid regime's fight against the liberation movements, and the latter employed the arts centrally in their struggle (see Sachs, 1990; MMP, 2006), it is understandable that these two related issues would become the focus of the first important post-apartheid cultural discourses.

On the one hand, *Die Burger* -- as it occasionally did during apartheid (see Chapter 3) -- remained involved in supporting the lifting of apartheid style censorship regulations in the 1990s[xxiii] . But *Die Burger* also exploited the rising tension between the lifting of censorship regulations and conservative public morality in often sensational coverage of especially female nudity in movies and theatres (see DB, 1993/02/27:2). In other words, on its news pages *Die Burger* sometimes used/exploited the ability of artists to challenge public morality in order to create controversy in and for the news medium (and potentially increase sales). Although one could argue that an anti-censorship agenda was promoted along with newspaper interests in this manner, the down-side of this phenomenon was that sensationalised reporting probably also created/fuelled popular misconceptions of and opposition to the arts and artists themselves (see Levine, 2007).

5.1.3.2 Cultural boycott

A report, filed by the South African Press Association (Sapa), stated that "after the eleven year old cultural boycott" the ANC had "opened the door" for international artists to tour South Africa (DB, 1991/02/09:2 – "ANC se kulturele deure oop" [The cultural doors of the ANC are open]). According to the report, a spokesperson of the division of Arts and Culture of the ANC, Baleka Kgositsili, stated during a press conference that visiting international artists would be asked for support to address the "injustices of apartheid" on different levels (*ibid.*). She would not confirm or deny reports that the acclaimed pop-rock artists Bruce

Springsteen, Sting, and Phil Collins were about to tour the country, the report said (*ibid.*). (A black and white picture of Springsteen, used to illustrate the report, arguably raised expectations that it was indeed possible for South African fans to see their hero in the flesh at long last).

Die Burger responded critically to this debate in an editorial (DB, 1991/05/16:12 -- "Kulturele Boikot" [Cultural boycott]). The newspaper welcomed the prospect that the cultural boycott was "crumbling because it was "surely the most senseless aspect of the whole sanction campaign against South Africa" (*ibid.*). The editorial writer also used the opportunity to attack the ANC for its enduring links to the "world's last communist party", namely the SACP, despite the disappearance of communism internationally (*ibid.*). The ANC's earlier call to maintain the cultural boycott must therefore be seen against the totalitarianism of communism that used culture, the arts, and science in the service of politics, the editorial stated (*ibid.*). In a rather contradictory manner, the newspaper then acknowledged that the ANC was also simultaneously "starting to see the light in that it was encouraging the free flow of certain information through certain art forms in aid of the establishment of a 'non-racial' culture of democracy" (*ibid.* -- original parenthesis of "non-racial" maintained). The editorial continued (*ibid.*):

> It was always senseless to try and keep arts and culture, which seek the truth, from a group of people in an effort to convince them of the truth.

The irony that the newspaper was at that stage still supporting a government, state, and party that were censoring and intimidating those artists who opposed apartheid and minority rule for most of the previous decade, was seemingly lost on the writer of the editorial quoted above[xxiv]. It also would seem that the writer had an essentialist view of arts "…the arts as something universal…" -- [DB, 1991/05/16:12]) and thus as removed from its social and political context.

The writer of the editorial (*ibid.*) then turned on an (in)famous group of Afrikaans writers who met the ANC in Zimbabwe in 1989 (see Chapter 3). At the time the newspaper expressed fierce resistance when the writers agreed to support the international cultural boycott. This led to furious debates within the newspaper in which both the official editorial view and the personal view of arts journalists seemed to correspond.

At the end of 1990, the majority of the group of Afrikaans writers retracted their support for the boycott "in light of the happenings of February" [the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Mandela]. This move was announced prominently in *Die Burger* (DB, 1990/10/15:1). It also inspired an editorial in which it was welcomed, but the writers were once again castigated again because they comprised the "autonomy of the arts" (see DB, 1990/10/16:14 -- Bekering van die Watervallers [The conversion of the Watervallers]). The editorial pointed to the "degenerate art of Nazi-Germany" and "the class antagonistic art of the communist world" as examples of art that was not free (*ibid.*). Free art, it was stated, cannot be used as "instrument of the ruling ideology" (*ibid.*). Interestingly enough, the editorial also turned (rather briefly and superficially) to arts and culture in apartheid South Africa (*ibid.*):

> Even in South Africa things started moving in that direction when former government leaders encouraged writers in 1966 to sing the praises of the Afrikaner nation. Luckily there were enough brave Afrikaner writers who objected in principle to making their art a servant of ideology.

Thus the editorial mentioned above used one relatively small incident -- a confrontation between prime minister Hendrik Verwoerd and the canonised Afrikaner intellectual and writer N.P. van Wyk Louw in the 1960s (see Beukes & Steyn, 1992) -- to summarise decades of apartheid history in which the arts and culture of the majority of indigenous people were used, abused, disregarded, marginalised, and suppressed by the NP. As part of this discourse in which the arts must be "free, independent and autonomous", thus removed from politics (see DB, 1990/10/13:8), the unstated departure point seemed to be that the arts can/must be ignored until its links to its political, cultural, economic, and cultural context became visible.

More importantly, it is argued here that because the discourse of independent art excluded the possibility that the arts were involved in hegemonic and counter-hegemonic power struggles, any and all efforts of artists to express themselves overtly in the public political domain were met which such fierce antagonism and resistance. The arts had to be put back in its rightful place -- on the margins. This example of the positioning of *Die Burger* against Afrikaans writers also points to the fact that the reaction increased as the cultural distance between the parties decreased. In other words, *Die Burger* could not accept the fact that it was Afrikaans

writers -- the high priests of its celebrated literature (and a valuable asset in terms of cultural capital for its parent company) -- who had engaged with the enemy.

5.1.3.3 Mobilisation

An important part of the NP strategy (as displayed in discourses in *Die Burger* at the time) was that an end to international political, economic, and cultural/sports isolation would strengthen the hand of the NP in future constitutional negations with the ANC (see DB, 1991/04/17:12). The argument was that the country (still under the leadership of the NP) deserved to be welcomed back into the international fold because the party had announced (but not yet performed) the scrapping of all discriminatory legislation (*ibid*.).

Die Burger did not (want to) differentiate between the cultural censorship dispensation during apartheid and the decision by the ANC to support an international cultural boycott against South Africa in its strategic positioning during negotiations that led to the first democratic elections in 1994. The support of *Die Burger* for the end of international cultural boycotts manifested in the selection and prominent presentation of news reports of foreign groups and ensembles in the early 1990s. In this period the newspaper employed blow-by-blow coverage of and editorial comment on the proposed and actual visits of well- and lesser-known international artists and musicians, irrespective of style or genre, including the legendary American pop music star Paul Simon, and a relatively unknown German symphony orchestra (see DB, 1991/04/16:1; DB, 1991/07/19:12; DB, 1992/01/09:11;DB, 1992/01/09:10; DB, 1992/01/18:10). In motivating its resistance to the international cultural boycott, *Die Burger* often engaged in an arguably similar discourse of the free and universal arts that it sometimes employed in criticising some forms and incidents of cultural censorship during apartheid.

Die Burger also often mobilised the views and actions of particular artists as tools in its symbolic struggle against the ANC. Especially foremost Afrikaans writers such as Breyten Breytenbach and André P. Brink, who strongly opposed apartheid, were monitored closely by the news and political desk when they first reacted positively to moves by the NP to get rid of the system (see DB, 1991/06/3:2) and then also started to criticise the post-1990 cultural policy of the ANC (see DB, 1993/06/16:10a).

By 1993 *Die Burger* was still pessimistic about the commitment of the ANC to artistic freedom and freedom of speech, including press freedom. An editorial (DB, 1993/06/16:10a -- "Die skille val af" [The blinkers are off]) referred to comments by Brink that he was worried about "dictatorial tendencies" in the ANC who wanted to "misuse culture in an effort to gain power". Especially damning, according to *Die Burger*, was the statement by Brink that "this does not bode well for the future of freedom of speech" (*ibid.*). The editorial regarded it as "particularly significant" that it was somebody like Brink "who was now running scared of what may happen on the terrain of culture under an ANC-regime" (*ibid.*). It continued (*ibid.*):

> …he engaged in the past in a venomous international campaign against the NP government, amongst others against the old policy of publication control. In the process he associated himself strongly with the 'liberation struggle' of the ANC-Communist alliance, as if that would also imply cultural liberation.

In the first place it was particularly disingenuous of the editorial writer to use the word "publication control" for the banning of books that offended politicians and moralists for little or no more reason than their depiction of so-called interracial sexual relations, such as happened to Brink personally. It is also misleading to reduce Brink's opposition to apartheid to the generic issue of cultural freedom. Furthermore, it is noticeable that the writer qualified "liberation struggle" and made the communist connection clear with the use of "ANC-Communist alliance". As this section has already illustrated, *Die Burger* frequently used Soviet-era and -style censorship (often referring back to Stalin) as backdrop to discussions of the cultural policies of the ANC in the 1990s. In closing, the general sentiment of DB 1993/06/16:10a was that Brink's new insight might "hopefully" lead to the same amongst his peers who were often still "naively making themselves available as propaganda material for the ANC". The editorial concluded (*ibid.*):

> In countries where especially the publication industry was politically enslaved by communist dictatorships it led to huge spiritual poverty. Thinking South Africans must make sure that this happens in their country by fighting with all might and without being moved for the constitutional entrenchment of a free press.

In the run up to the 1992 referendum amongst white voters, in order for the NP to get a mandate for negotiations with the ANC, *Die Burger* also published a telling editorial (DB, 1992/03/14:10 -- "Nee-stem beloof kultuur-nag" [No-vote promises night for culture]). In urging white voters to vote, and also to vote "yes" in the referendum, the editorial painted a chilling picture of the cultural "hell" that would descend on "Joe Public" in the case of a negative result (*ibid.*). This included the very real prospect of no new international TV-programmes and an end to all international sport broadcasts, no new movies from abroad, and far less international publications in local stores (*ibid.*). The editorial argues that "neither the current censorship dispensation nor any future censorship dispensation ['under a government in which the ANC is involved'] could be worse that what will be left of arts and culture and entertainment in this country if the referendum produces a negative result" (*ibid.*). It concluded (*ibid.*):

> South Africans will be completely cut off from the big current of Western thought and entertainment and will be forced to become an insular small cultural and spiritual community.…To vote No, or to refrain from voting, is to accept a wild and empty cultural and spiritual world with open arms. South Africa will be its own hell.

From these comments it becomes clear that *Die Burger's* view of culture was still very closely tied to the West (especially the USA and Britain are mentioned by name). The editorial also displayed a clear distinction between the culture of the (elite) artist and that of "Joe Public". According to this simplistic view "those in art circles" showed a "large measure of apathy" to elections and referendums in the past because of their "distaste of racist politics" (*ibid.*). It is argued that "not to vote or to vote negatively will negate all principles that the broad South African arts corps strived for in the last decades" (*ibid.*). It is ironic that the perceived idealistic principles of artists are employed here as a political tool by *Die Burger* -- especially in light of its frequent attacks against artists who made a stand against apartheid (for example as discussed above, the Afrikaans writers who accepted the cultural boycott). Similarly, "Joe Public's" love for televised sport was dangled in front of him by the same newspaper who often argued that politics should be kept out of sport (and *vice versa*).

In analysing and criticising the strategic positioning of *Die Burger* above, I do not wish to make a value judgment about the particular issue that the newspaper campaigned for. It is true

that a negative vote in that particular referendum could have had a host of far-reaching implications, including the derailing or delaying of a relatively peaceful transition to democracy. The issues at stake are what one can deduce about the discursive strategies of *Die Burger* at the time and what they suggest about its view on arts and culture. Furthermore, this critique of *Die Burger* does not automatically mean that the cultural-political position of the ANC and its alliance partners is accepted here without criticism[xxv]. This study does not aim for an evaluation of the field in general but to analyse the discursive positioning of arts journalism at *Die Burger* only.

The question arises whether the editor, arts editor, and arts journalists of *Die Burger* fully comprehended ANC strategy. One possibility is that it was clearly understood, and that especially the editor was portraying the counter-strategy of the NP, to end South Africa's political, economic, and cultural isolation without finally conceding power to the ANC. What is interesting is that in the discourse of opposition to the ANC, the strategic power positioning of *Die Burger* (and the NP) was hidden behind some of the principles of the discourse of universal arts -- such as that the arts must be free, independent, and autonomous. At least some arts journalists at *Die Burger* seemingly shared this view (see 5.3.2) but that does not mean that all of them realised that they were actually part of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic power struggles on a far bigger scale (see Chapter 6 where respondents describe their strategic awareness around the cultural boycott).

5.1.3.4 Africanisation

At *Die Burger* the term Africanisation (i.e. the rise of black African nationalism) often had a negative political connotation in the 1990s -- especially in editorial comment. An early example is provided by the senior political columnist Dawie (DB, 1991/09/04:12 - "Magsdeling moet die resep vir toekomstige SA wees" [Power sharing must be the recipe for a future SA]). In the column "Africanisation" is clearly linked to "dangers from the left". Dawie explained (*ibid.*):

> These dangers from the left originate especially from the ranks of the ANC/SACP, where ideas about the winner takes all, drastic redistribution of wealth and a policy of 'Africanisation' run deep.

By 1998 Dawie seemingly had not moderated this view. If anything, his attitude about Africanisation (as expressed in DB, 1998/12/05:12 -- “Rasse-trom hard geslaan ná dood van apartheid” [Race drum beat hard after the death of apartheid]) had hardened by then. In this column Dawie equated the controversial, and according to him, counter-productive policy and programme of affirmative action with Africanisation. In this view, Africanisation meant unfair discrimination against whites and so-called coloureds (*ibid.*).

In positioning itself in cultural discourses at the beginning of 1990, *Die Burger* was severely critical of the persistent racial exclusivity of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK), which was one of the bulwarks of Afrikaner culture during apartheid (see DB, 1990/08/27:10 -- “FAK beweeg oplaas voorwaarts” [At last the FAK is moving forwards]). On the other hand, the newspaper was largely supportive of other traditional Afrikaner cultural institutions, particularly the Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns and the Afrikaanse Taal-en-Kulturvereniging (ATKV) because it had “moved with the times” (see DB, 1990/12/08:4 -- “ATKV is vierkant deel van die nuwe Suid-Afrika” [ATKV is decidedly part of the new South Africa]). Institutions such as these were hailed and enthusiastically supported again if/when they undertook what was regarded as progressive changes (see DB, 1992/07/15:10; DB, 1993/09/21:10; DB, 1993/11/29:1; DB, 1993/11/29:8). The argument seems to have been that as long as they declared themselves “open” to all “races” (and/but remained Afrikaans) they deserved the support of *Die Burger*.

It would, however, seem that the newspaper was far more interested in a political statement of intent rather than investigating actual change on a grass roots level. The fact that core Afrikaner cultural institutions in fact remained whites-only in practice for at least the rest of the decade (and then even longer still) was never seriously engaged in or by the newspaper in the 1990s. For example, the Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns and the ATKV can at best be described as relatively progressive within the white Afrikaner context. Although both declared themselves open to all races in the end, a number of discrepancies, with exclusionary results, remained. For example, the ATKV took another 20 years (until 2010) before a black (so-called coloured) person was elected (and not co-opted) to the board of the organisation (see Malan, 2010; DB, 1990/05/07:8).

The progressive cultural stance of *Die Burger* stopped well short of support for the so-called Africanisation of society that the ANC proclaimed. Thus the relatively progressive cultural

positioning of *Die Burger* mirrored its political positioning at the beginning of the decade. On the one hand the newspaper was opposing the "banal" racist politics of the Afrikaner right wing and on the other hand the "outdated communist-inspired cultural melting pot" of the ANC and the left in general (see DB, 1992/03/14:10; DB, 1991/05/16:12).

Die Burger was therefore overtly and fiercely critical of most plans and efforts to restructure apartheid-dispensation national and regional performing arts and culture institutions under the pressure of the ANC and other liberation movements (see DB, 1991/09/24:16). One of the central cultural focal points in the arts and culture coverage of *Die Burger* in the 1990s was therefore the process and consequences of the official restructuring of the arts -- frequently also referred to as "Africanisation". The first most visible result was that the four provincial arts councils experienced a financial crisis because of the contested issue of how state funds should be allocated to the arts in an "inclusive" manner (see DB, 1990/07/18:1). In-house production companies at the arts councils were also re-structured, and eventually closed down, because the argument from the ANC and its supporters was that it did not cater for or reflect the diversity of the African majority (see DB, 1990/07/18:3).

Reports and comments consistently focused on the implication of a perceived loss of expertise, knowledge, skills and standards, and the threat to the independence and integrity of the arts posed by the "ANC-Communist Alliance" (see DB, 1992/07/25:8). In reaction the newspaper argued that the future of a "civilised" country --- in which the state and community allows the arts to prosper -- would progressively be in the hands of the private and not the public sector in South Africa (DB, 1992/02/17:8).

Restructuring of the official arts and culture dispensation led to furious debates in *Die Burger*, firstly because it brought the issue of so-called Eurocentric versus Afrocentric arts and culture to the fore. At times the newspaper could not conceal its irritation with proponents of the view that society must be Africanised on all levels. For example, when a member of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) suggested that the statue of the 17th century Dutch colonialist Jan van Riebeeck must be dumped into the sea, *Die Burger* reacted aggressively to the Eurocentrism debate in an editorial (DB, 1993/04/10:10):

> And talking about Jan van Riebeeck, the miss of the PAC who wants to throw his statue in the sea will convince the public of her case if she is prepared to

> sell her home and clothes, as well as her car, and go and live in a grass hut on the plains, dressed in skins, sleeping on a karos [traditional blanket], and smeared with all kinds of fats. Her Apla comrades can protect her with bow and arrow.

Admittedly, the content and tone of the discourse of Africanisation in the newspaper were not always this crude. Editorial writers in *Die Burger* even admitted on occasion that critics of the apartheid-era arts dispensation "had a point" (see DB, 1992/10/24:12). But at the same time the departure point seemingly remained that critics must be clearly made aware of the fact that "the only way to international status is that of the accepted great tradition" (*ibid.*). The clear implication was that this existing "great" tradition is a Western one.

The tension caused by so-called Africanisation was taken up in another editorial, DB, 1993/04/02:12 -- "'n Gevaarlike sentrisme" [A dangerous centrism]). The writer responded to the proposed disbanding of the opera company of the regional arts council in the Cape Province (Capab) because of a lack of funding and suggestions that as a "Eurocentric art form" opera was not a priority in the "so-called democratisation process which the arts are experiencing at the moment" (*ibid.*). The editorial stated that an argument of Eurocentrism was silly in "a country that would be unthinkable without its European heritage -- from sport to cars, from clothes to business and management systems" (*ibid.*). It continued (*ibid.*):

> Even democracy itself, in the name of which a lot of foolishness are proclaimed currently, is in essence European in origin.

But not all Western culture was seemingly acceptable to the writer of the editorial. The writer also turned to "the encroaching superficiality of commercialised American cultural imperialism" that was replacing "Britten and Beethoven" with "Coke and Kentucky" (*ibid.*). In fact, the "total spiritual and cultural life world" of "both Africa and Europe in this country" were "bending the knee to pop culture" and were endangered by "Yankee centrism" (*ibid.*). "But the writing was on the wall", the editorial (*ibid.*) claimed, because of the looming demise of the arts councils that were dependent on the state for financial survival. Only the arts councils could work against American cultural imperialism in promoting a "cultural heritage that is universally accepted, because true great art is universal" (*ibid.*). Ironically, in light of the dangers of commercialisation that the editorial pointed out, the writer argued in closing

that “the only way out seems to be the privatisation of arts like opera that will only be able to survive with the support of the private sector and the public” (*ibid.*).

Apart from leading and allowing critical discussion on the controversial topic of Africanisation and the future of so-called Eurocentric arts and culture (see DB, 1993/04/10:10; DB, 1991/10/18:12), *Die Burger* and Naspers actively (including financially) supported institutions such as the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra (see DB, 1994/06/04:8). As the discussion on arts journalism specifically will indicate below, arts journalists were directly involved in campaigns to drum up public support for the orchestra (see DB, 1996/12/20:16a -- “Orkes: Die Burger kry groot dankie” [Orchestra: Die Burger receives big thanks]).

5.1.3.5 Language

The discussion above has already indicated how the position and role (in particular) of Afrikaans in a new dispensation became the focal point of symbolic signification in *Die Burger* in the 1990s. From a CDA of texts, the following sub-categories emerged: The attempted removal of racial cultural capital from Afrikaans and political and cultural economic struggles involving the language respectively.

Racial cultural capital

The decade started off with a measure of introspection by Afrikaans intellectuals as an indication that the tide was turning for Afrikaans as conveyor of racial cultural capital. In other words, while the discourse of Afrikaans as so-called white man’s language was profitable and powerful during apartheid, it had now become counter-productive.

A news report (DB, 1990/01/18:3) with the heading “Kwetsende woorde uit Afrikaans” [Hurtful words out of Afrikaans] announced the imminent publication of the eighth edition of the official and comprehensive list of Afrikaans vocabulary and spelling rules: *Afrikaanse Woordelys en Spelreëls* (AWS). It was the first update in 25 years, announced Professor F.F. Odendal, chairman of the language commission of the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns [South African Academy for Science and Arts]. In 1917 the language commission was given the task of standardising Afrikaans (see DB, 1990/01/20:6). The news

report (*ibid.)* led with the news that derogatory racist words such as “kleurling”, “meid”, and “kaffer” were to be omitted in the updated edition. In addition, English words such as “rock” and “soul” would be acceptable as/in standard Afrikaans, and more attention was to be given to the writing/spelling of words taken from indigenous African languages.

This development illustrates that the Afrikaner establishment was admitting that Afrikaans was under pressure from local African influences (also see the discussion on Africanisation above).The formal recognition of English/American pop cultural terms shows that the global influence of Anglo-American language and culture was increasingly breaking down conservative Afrikaans barriers. Seen from another perspective, it could have been a convenient attempt to show how flexible and modern Afrikaans is.

This process sparked long running debates in *Die Burger* (see for example DB, 1990/01/20:6 -- “Gee my ’n steak en tjips, ’n milkshake en lekker Afrikaans” [Give me a steak and chips, a milkshake and nice Afrikaans]). This report quoted a white academic who felt that the committee should have allowed even more established English terms into Afrikaans. The debate was arguably framed by a discourse in which the influence of English on Afrikaans was historically seriously stigmatised as part of the symbolic construction of Afrikaner nationalism -- politicians and cultural leaders would often encourage language purity as a sign of cultural development while the history of British atrocities against Afrikaners during the South African War [1899-1902] was regularly called upon in popular discourses to motivate an aversion to English.

Die Burger reported prominently on the reaction of leading Afrikaans academics and writers to this announcement of the new AWS (see DB, 1990/01/19:8a -- “Realisme in Afrikaans nodig, sê kenner” [Realism in Afrikaans necessary] and DB, 1990/01/19:8b -- “Links verwelkom nuwe taallys” [Links welcomes new language list]).The reports also dealt with the reaction of a number of so-called coloured Afrikaans intellectuals. In the main they reacted positively to the news, arguably because the discourses around Afrikaans of white and so-called coloured intellectuals in the South African academy overlapped to a large extent at that time.

However, one prominent intellectual, Professor Richard van der Ross, felt that it was not the task of a language committee to pronounce on the acceptability of words in a particular

language. He mentioned that the word “kleurling” (coloured) had a long history which cannot suddenly be disregarded. A news report in the (marginalised) special separate edition of *Die Burger* for so-called coloured readers, Ekstra [“Extra”], also recorded criticism against the new publication (DB, 1991/ 07/16:9). The report by Sean Jacobs, on the page dedicated to education matters, quoted Achmat Davids, head of the Grassroots Education Trust, in saying that the new publication was still marginalising the coloured, black, and Moslem speakers of Afrikaans. He argued that the (whites-only) composition of the language commission could be part of the problem (*ibid.*).

The responses of the respective intellectuals mentioned above are perhaps also indicative of the different views on Afrikaans -- not only between white and so-called coloured speakers but also within the so-called coloured community. In the language discourses in the 1990s, these divisions would become even more prominent and problematic. The progression of the debate during the 1990s also showed that so-called coloured speakers were distrustful of the self-appointed advocacy role that white speakers adopted on behalf of the language and all its speakers.Not without good reason, one could argue in light of apartheid history -- including the fact that by 1990 no black speaker of Afrikaans had ever served as a member of the Afrikaans language commission of the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns (see DB, 1990/01/20:6). At that stage the commission was also still all-male and in contrast to their strong stance on racist terms they apparently did not consider the removal of any [outdated] female forms and/or potentially sexist words from the list (*ibid.*).

Political struggle

But the debate around Afrikaans soon moved to a much more overtly political level, especially as far as Naspers and *Die Burger* were concerned. In May 1991, the newspaper announced on its front page that the managing director of its parent company had taken the lead in the establishment of a language foundation for Afrikaans “based on the model of institutes in Europe and America” (DB, 1991/05/04:1). The decision was reached on a media symposium of the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns where the managing director of Naspers, Ton Vosloo, stated that the Afrikaans media must become partners in an alliance of Afrikaans speakers who will regard the promotion of Afrikaans “through colourless lenses” (*ibid.*). The front-page report also referred the reader to page 13 of the same edition in which Vosloo’s comments at the meeting were reported in more detail (DB,

1991/05/04:13 -- “Persbaas waarsku oor Afrikaans se status: Kwade dag as sprekers sou saamstaan in verset” [Press boss warns about status of Afrikaans: Trouble looms if users resist together]). According to the report,Vosloo warned “any government who wanted to strip Afrikaans of its official status” of the serious consequences if “white Afrikaners across the whole political spectrum are forced to unite to fight literally for the survival of their language” (*ibid.*). Vosloo continued (*ibid.*):

> Their ability for destruction will make the struggle of the Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland, that of the Basque in Spain or the ANC’s in South Africa look like cowboy-games in a kindergarten.

Seemingly in contrast to his aggressive racialised view of a possible white-Afrikaner armed struggle, Vosloo also re-iterated the view that coloured speakers of Afrikaans must be included in a unified language community of nearly 14 million people. Vosloo reportedly said that without its “ideological strait-jacket”, and if all Afrikaans schools are opened to coloured speakers, a new Afrikaans nation can be established[xxvi]. He continued (*ibid.*):

> If Afrikaans wants to survive as general language with commercial value, the carriers of the language will have to be increased in numbers. White Afrikaner population growth is close to zero and the growth of Afrikaans will increasingly be in non-white hands. This is the moment of truth for Afrikaners and Afrikaans in the new South Africa, as articulated by pres. F.W. de Klerk.

A few days later, *Die Burger* commented favourably on the Vosloo initiative in an up-beat editorial (DB, 1991/05/06:10 -- “Afrikaans herontdek” [Afrikaans rediscovered]). The editorial repeated and supported many of the facts and sentiments of Vosloo highlighted above but also referred to a “surprising” view expressed by Nelson Mandela that “today Afrikaans is the language of liberation” (*ibid.*). (Mandela’s comments were reportedly contained in a speech he aimed to deliver to white Afrikaans students on the campus of the University of Pretoria, but which was cancelled due to disruptive protesters). The editorial claimed that consensus was growing that Afrikaans had to remain an official language in a new dispensation. But the editorial also warned that in order for the language to survive its millions of speakers must unite to keep it “alive” on all levels and in its different functions (*ibid.*).

In the run-up to the 1994-elections, *Die Burger* therefore became increasingly critical of what it perceived as the scaling down of Afrikaans at the SABC. In an editorial (DB, 1994/04/07:10) the newspaper bitterly bemoaned the fact that the SABC decided that English would be the main medium of their coverage of the upcoming elections. According to *Die Burger* it was not really surprising that the SABC was becoming an English institution because it was "dancing to the tune of the ANC-Communist alliance" (DB, 1994/04/07:10). The latter was accused by the paper that it was clandestinely working to strip Afrikaans of its status as an official language (*ibid.*). *Die Burger* was also seemingly disappointed by the role that the NP played in this regard. Although the party was not mentioned by name, the editorial states that Afrikaans could no longer count on a single political party for support since the negotiation process started and English was unanimously adopted as the language medium by all parties (*ibid.*). In closing, the editorial warns the SABC and "any new government" that popular resistance was growing to the disregard of the official functions of Afrikaans (*ibid.*).

Following the publication of the editorial (DB, 1994/04/07:10), the seemingly always simmering debate around Afrikaans flared up in *Die Burger* for weeks (see DB, 1994/04/09:1; DB, 1994/04/13:1; DB, 1994/04/13:10; DB, 1994/04/14:10; DB, 1994/04/14:13; DB, 1994/04/15:1; DB, 1994/04/16:2; DB, 1994/04/22:3) -- and one can safely say that it never really died down again for the rest of the decade (see DB, 1999/12/18:12). Traditional Afrikaner institutions like the NP, on the political side, and the cultural federation Federasie vir Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK) also became involved, but it would seem that they had already lost their power to influence significant change at that stage.

The general sentiment of the debate was summarised by *Die Burger* in two editorials that both used struggle metaphors. The first (DB, 1994/04/14:10) proclaimed that a "new language struggle" had probably already started. The term language struggle ("taalstryd") referred back to the development history of Afrikaans during colonial times and in the face of firstly Dutch and then British/English hegemony. In the second editorial (DB, 1994/04/16:8), titled "'n Stryd om oorlewing" [A fight for survival], the writer stated that Afrikaans was "knee deep in a fight for survival" (*ibid.*). The writer therefore took issue with both official disregard for the language and the way in which many speakers of Afrikaans "mixed" their language with English in everyday talk (*ibid.*).

Cultural economic struggle

Interestingly enough, *Die Burger* suggested in another editorial (DB, 1994/04/23:16) that the economic capital of Afrikaans speakers should be harnessed for the establishment of an "own independent" Afrikaans language TV-channel. Such a channel was indeed finally realised by the owner of *Die Burger*, Naspers, with the establishment of kykNET on its digital pay-TV network in 1999 (see DB, 1999/5/25:4). In this way, Naspers contributed to the commercialisation and privatisation of Afrikaans cultural life. Because of the huge discrepancies between rich and poor, both economic and cultural capital were unevenly distributed along racial lines during apartheid, Afrikaans popular media culture became arguably even more exclusively under the control of an affluent niche market in the 1990s.

But the single biggest influence of Naspers and *Die Burger* on Afrikaans culture during the 1990s must be their involvement in the sponsorship and promotion of Afrikaans cultural festivals nation-wide. Naspers chairman Vosloo (2010) often made it clear that this resulted directly from the perception that Afrikaans was being scaled down in the post-apartheid dispensation (see also DB, 1999/03/27:3; Chapter 3; and the discussion on "Arts and company" below).

Dutch

A noticeable component of the language (Afrikaans) discourse in the 1990s was the relationship between Afrikaans and Dutch. The issues became particularly pertinent when the 1994 democratic election which would officially spell the end of Afrikaner rule was looming large. Various editorials, reports, and articles displayed the same fixed boundaries of the discursive relationship between Afrikaners and the Dutch (see for instance DB, 1990/09/27:14).

In the historic development of Afrikaans, Dutch played a central role and up to the first part of the 20th century strong official and informal ties existed between the two languages. But due to growing official criticism against apartheid and support for liberation movements in the Netherlands and Belgium, relations cooled down considerably (see DB, 1998/03/17:15). Some Afrikaners viewed the anti-apartheid stance of the Dutch as betrayal and hypocrisy, which resulted in lingering animosity.

At the same time, black speakers of Afrikaans fought locally for recognition of their share in the development of Afrikaans with the result that the Dutch connection was underemphasised even more in that quarter. As South Africa moved towards a post-apartheid and post-colonial society, it was arguably also becoming more and more unfashionable to stress the European heritage of Afrikaans. Many Afrikaners in particular were also keen to been seen as Africans and not European settlers. That does not mean that especially Afrikaner intellectuals did not maintain some links with willing Dutch colleagues. Despite economic and cultural boycotts many Afrikaners still studied and travelled abroad and sometimes hosted international visitors. Afrikaans and Dutch were taught as a combined subject at many Afrikaans universities until the end of apartheid.

However, the end of apartheid meant that official ties between the two languages were possible again. As the discussion above indicates, Afrikaans was also perceived to be under pressure (even threat) because of the changing political and cultural dispensation in the 1990s. Some Afrikaans speakers obviously viewed this as an opportunity to find international support to strengthen the survival chances of the language. In some cases the Dutch (or Flemish) example was used as an example to Afrikaans of what it should or should not do -- for example in terms of dealing with the growing global pressure and influence of English on small languages (see DB, 1990/02/06:7). Reports in *Die Burger* frequently dealt with the inclusion (proposed and actual) of Afrikaans cultural producers and products into the international Dutch language union (Nederlandse Taalunie), comprising the Netherlands, Belgium, and former colonies such as the Dutch-Antilles and Suriname (see DB, 1994/04/20:4). For example, after 1994 an aggressive Flemish faction -- which was engaged in their own language struggle with French in Belgium -- suggested TV co- production as an area of serious co-operation between Afrikaans and Dutch.

The ANC government, on the other hand, viewed cultural relations with the Netherlands more from and an “inclusive African” perspective (see DB, 1998/03/17:15) when they signed an accord in 1996. Therefore, Afrikaans was not specifically mentioned in the accord to guard against the impression of “exclusivity” (*ibid.*). The government’s stance arguably only contributed to the view amongst Afrikaners that their language was being marginalised.

The complex love-hate relationship between Afrikaans and Dutch sometimes found expression in the use of the arguably derogatory term "Kaaskop" [literally "cheese head"] in arts and entertainment copy referring to people from the Netherlands and Belgium (see DB, 1990/03/02:6; DB, 1990/03/27:14). Although the term was sometimes used humorously and seemingly without malice (see DB, 1993/05/07:4), even by Dutch people themselves in interviews with *Die Burger* (see DB, 1998/03/12:4), a particular incident in 1990 illustrated the ambivalent stance of many Afrikaners towards Dutch.

A regular cultural commentator at *Die Burger*, Pieter Spaarwater, used his column "Van Alle Kante" (DB, 1990/03/02:6 -- Kaaskop skiet 'n bok [Kaaskop shoots a buck]) for a chafing attack on a particular Dutch journalist who reportedly insulted and belittled Afrikaans. In the column Spaarwater was at pains to mention that he had many good Dutch friends, and that he loved and respected the language and culture but that a "particular type of Dutchman" always gets up his nose (*ibid.*). This is a typical example of a "yes, but-strategy" (and "some of my best friends are...") type of denial of ethnic stereotyping. However, in DB, 1990/03/27:14 (Vra 'Kaaskop' verkoning [Say sorry to 'Kaaskop']) Spaarwater apologised profusely because he based his column on an erroneous report and did not even bother to check the facts himself. In other words, he was more than ready to accept that hostility and criticism would come from Dutch quarters.

In apologising, Spaarwater used an extract of a letter from the journalist Derk-Jan Eppink, international editor of *NRC Handelsblad*, in which the latter explained in detail that he was misunderstood and actually admired Afrikaans (*ibid.*). Interestingly, Eppink did not object to the term "Kaaskop" *per se* but to what he regarded as its unstated implication -- that he was from the province of Holland (*ibid.*). According to the respected Van Dale dictionary, the word originated in Belgium and South-Limburg as a curse against Dutchmen ("Hollanders") -- see DB, 2001/04/21:10. In contrast, "Kaaskop" in Afrikaans was used indiscriminately for anyone with a Dutch/Netherlands/Belgium connection who speaks Dutch.

The incident illustrates the power of words in the construction of cultural stereotypes, of labeling and dividing, and how a gap of knowledge and understanding between producers and audience further increases indifferent and divergent processes of decoding. It also shows why it is so vital to introduce context into critical discourse analysis -- as Bourdieu argued and Fairclough accepted (see Chapter 4).

5.1.4 Habitus

The habitus of some editorial staff members and freelancers of *Die Burger* according to biographical information presented in newspaper copy (1990-1999) will be discussed in this section. This discussion will continue in Chapter 6 where interviews with staff members will provide more material for analysis. The argument is that both individual and group habitus influenced arts journalism at *Die Burger* during that period. Chapter 2 made it clear that Bourdieu regarded habitus as socialised subjectivity -- in other words, how individual knowledge and tastes (part of cultural capital) are structured by the educational and professional trajectory of an individual. At issue here is to look for clues about the influence of the habitus of arts journalists on the coverage they contributed to the newspaper.

On a micro level, 1990 at *Die Burger* was significant for the context of arts journalism because it introduced Johann Botha as the new arts editor of the newspaper (see DB, 1990/01/05:3). The report mentioned that Botha holds the degrees MA (from Stellenbosch University) and PhD (from the University of Cape Town) and that he lectured in Afrikaans and Dutch literature at the University of Cape Town (UCT) and Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit (RAU) in Johannesburg. Botha's experience as a journalist at *Die Burger* (where he started as a reporter in 1966), its sister newspaper *Volksblad,* and at the National Parks Board magazine *Custos* is also mentioned in the report. Before he became editor at *Die Burger* in 1990, Botha worked as media manager and head of communication of the National Parks Board. In 1996 he was promoted as publisher of various Naspers regional newspapers.

Botha's background and occupational history (habitus) indicates that he was in possession of a significant amount of cultural, social, and symbolic capital when he joined *Die Burger* in 1990. His links to state institutions like the National Parks Board and an Afrikaans language university point to the fact that he was well-connected to the Afrikaner establishment. His studies at the conservative Stellenbosch University and association with *Die Burger* and *Volksblad* during the apartheid period also fit the typical profile of an Afrikaner intellectual at the time. The only exception might be his links to the liberal English University of Cape Town although it must be recognised that its department of Afrikaans and Dutch had a long and distinguished history. Botha's engagement with UCT might therefore not indicate a

significant liberal positioning in terms of discourses around Afrikaans and the role of the Afrikaner in a new dispensation.

On 1 July 1996 Wilhelm Grütter replaced Botha as arts editor. Grütter was well known in cultural and journalism circles in Cape Town (see DB, 2001/06/14:4). During his long and distinguished career, Grütter wrote on literature, classical music, theatre, television, radio, and wine. He was an internationally accredited philatelist and started the independent book publishing firm Reijger in 1970. In that capacity Grütter published the first volume of poetry of Wilma Stockenström -- who later became one of the major Afrikaans poets. Grütter was married to the acclaimed poet Petra Müller. He was the son of German immigrants and arguably never became part of the conservative Afrikaner establishment. Although he studied at Stellenbosch University, he started his career as a journalist at the opposition English newspaper *Cape Argus* and actively supported the white liberal Progressive Party during apartheid. He contributed as a regular columnist to *Die Burger* from 1979 but only joined the newspaper fulltime (as books editor) in 1992 -- when he was 56 years old. Grütter retired in February 2001 (and died shortly thereafter).

In terms of habitus, Grütter was arguably more removed from the political and cultural power struggles around Afrikaans and Afrikaners than Botha. It is also interesting to note that it was Botha who appointed Grütter (as book editor) in the first place while Botha was appointed by Ebbe Dommisse, a senior political journalist who became the new editor of *Die Burger* in 1990 (see DB, 1990/07/27:10). Dommisse's close alliance with the NP for at least the first half of the decade, and arguably conservative positioning of *Die Burger* in general, form the backdrop of the analysis of the role that arts journalists at the newspaper played from 1990-1999.

While Botha's term included the volatile period after Mandela's release and the elections in 1994, Grütter was the arts editor during the eventful years of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Despite some clear liberal credentials, Grütter's name was not amongst those *Die Burger* journalists, including three from the arts desk, who sent a letter of apology to the TRC for the role played by Naspers journalists during apartheid. One may speculate that Grütter agreed with management and/or avoided confrontation on this issue and/or that he shared the view that the arts were universal and should be kept removed from actual political

struggles. Unfortunately Grütter is unable to respond to these speculations today, but the views of some of his contemporaries on the TRC will be discussed in Chapter 6.

In postmodern terms Grütter will probably be described as a cultural omnivore (see Chapter 2). Yet, although he displayed an eclectic cultural taste and was sometimes critical of elitism (see DB, 1990/09/29:6), Grütter's judgment of taste was seemingly still based on a somewhat elitist view of arts and culture. For example, in DB, 1990/11/3:4 Grütter, as a regular TV columnist, criticised a "tasteless" Afrikaans television comedy, and in DB, 1990/04/07:4 he commented on the "shollow" nature of SABC television content in general. He stated (*ibid.*):

> The rot started long ago, and in fact virtually on the day when advertising slots made its appearance (on TV). Long before the arrival of M-Net it was the aim of television to draw as many viewers as possible, therefore all the sit-coms, soapies and sport.…If you do not believe me, just make the most superficial comparison between the programmes before and after the introduction of advertising. I can for example remember very well a full-length opera on a Monday night, or a broadcast of that classic French art film, *Les Enfants du Paradis*, on two consecutive evenings.

In this view, the true cultural connoisseur will also be able to detect and appreciate inherent and "universal" artistic quality (as well) -- even on a popular medium such as television, and amongst the usual fare of entertainment and sport. Not, that Grütter was against sport, in fact he wrote often and enthusiastically about a variety of sporting events in his regular TV column (see DB, 1992/03/13:7, DB, 1993/01/08:7, DB, 1994/09/02:2). Thus, according to Grütter, sport could be unashamedly and wholeheartedly enjoyed on television at the right time. As long as the fine balance between the arts and entertainment was correctly maintained, a cultural omnivore like Grütter was seemingly satisfied.

A previous arts editor, Kerneels Breytenbach, still worked as freelance pop music columnist and food critic for *Die Burger* in the 1990s. Breytenbach was particularly influential in the establishment of pop music journalism in Afrikaans during the 1980s and probably contributed strongly to the view that popular culture could be the source of artistic quality and quality in arts journalism. During the time of predecessors such as W.E.G. Louw, the so-called high arts were arguably exclusively regarded as the source of quality -- as cultural

capital. In Boudieu's terms Breytenbach thus contributed to the re-constitution of the nature of cultural capital in arts journalism at Naspers (he also wrote for a number of other publications in the group).

Still, it would be a mistake to argue that Breytenbach's term as arts editor (1983-1989) was the watershed between a focus on Western high art and Western popular art at *Die Burger*. Breytenbach was clearly also a cultural omnivore. He not only wrote about and enjoyed a variety of arts, entertainment traditions, and genres, but seemingly also published a similar eclectic mixture of high and popular art/entertainment that still characterised the arts pages of the 1990s. And by all accounts Breytenbach continued a trend that was already established by his legendary predecessor, Victor Holloway, who worked for 23 years as a sports journalist before becoming arts editor in 1970 (see Chapter 3; Beukes & Steyn, 1992:186). In addition, I would argue that as a critic in the 1990s Breytenbach, like Grütter, in fact also based his judgment of (popular music) taste on an often unstated internalised hierarchy of "quality" (see DB, 1990/05/14:6). In his favourable review of a so-called alternative Afrikaans group Randy Rambo & The Rough Riders, Breytenbach states that the music is a test for "preconceived ideas about music and taste" (*ibid.*). In short, although the singer of the band cannot really sing and the lyrics are course and crude at times, the recording delivers a mixture of "endless pleasure and similarly endless unease". Breytenbach argues that a particularly unique combination between music and lyrics, and the political comments and criticism of the songs in the context of conservative Afrikaner suburbia, are sources of pleasure. But it is clear that his own cultural and political views, tastes, and values are at issue. Breytenbach is torn between his parochial taste for Randy Rambo and universal (Western) quality, he only half-jokingly positions Randy Rambo as the local version of Syd Barrett of the internationally renowned British rock group Pink Floyd.

The habitus of individual journalists can also be considered when specific themes in the coverage in the newspaper are analysed. As the discussion above illustrated, the relationship between Afrikaans and Dutch was a prominent recurring theme in *Die Burger* (1990-1999). Besides historic ties between the two and significant political and cultural developments in South Africa in the 1990s, such as the end of international boycotts against South Africa, the extent of coverage in the newspaper might have been influenced by the presence in Amsterdam of a particularly active Dutch correspondent, Gawie Keyser. He was born in South Africa and later moved to the Netherlands where he was the official correspondent of

Die Burger in the 1990s. Keyser wrote regularly on a variety of subjects that might have been of interest to a reader of *Die Burger*.

After 1990, his focus included a perceived changing relationship between Afrikaans and Dutch -- often presented with the theme that the two languages are moving closer together again, or should do so (see DB, 1994/03/29:4 -- "Mark oorsee vir Afrikaans: Nederlanders ontdek nuwe geslag skrywers" [Market abroad for Afrikaans: Dutch discovers new generation of writers]). In the process Keyser was obviously also developing and sustaining his own market as a journalist by tapping into the existing "news values" of *Die Burger* (and other sister publications in the Naspers group which shared his copy). In other words, Keyser was taking part in -- and influencing -- established discourses around arts and culture in order to fulfill his obligations as a correspondent. His presence in the "news-net" (Tuchman, 1978) at that particular juncture arguably played a role in keeping the Afrikaans-Dutch discourse on the agenda. Subsequent developments (see DB, 1998/01/20:12) seem to indicate that in the broad South African context only a relatively small number of Afrikaans/Afrikaner intellectuals were particularly interested in the Dutch-connection. It is safe to say that even amongst Afrikaans speakers in general the Dutch language and society are probably of marginal interest.

However, the extent of coverage in *Die Burger* (1990-1999) would seem to suggest a large and growing interest on both sides. This came about, I would argue, because of a fit between the habitus of the correspondent (Keyser[xxvii]) in Amsterdam and that of key gate-keepers (editors) at *Die Burger* who saw in the Dutch-connection an ally to fight an internal language battle.

In evaluating the different and sometimes oppositional discourses around culture in *Die Burger*, the habitus of a particular individual, Koos Human, is also important. In the 1950s he was the co-founder of a successful independent book publishing firm, Human & Rousseau, which was subsequently taken over by Naspers. Human stayed on as managing director and became a respected and influential public cultural commentator -- especially on (Afrikaans) literature and (Western) classical music. For decades he wrote freelance columns on music and books for the arts page of *Die Burger* and essay-type editorials on culture in the Saturday edition of the paper. This may explain the phenomenon that the discourses around culture in Saturday editorials did not always correspond in content and tone to that in week-day editions

(see DB, 1990/08/04:8 -- “Die hutspot van kultuur” [The hodgepodge of culture]). This editorial offers a more balanced (if not slightly cynical) discussion of the way in which culture was used and abused by those in power than was usual in editorial on cultural during the 1990s. For example (*ibid.*):

> It boils and simmers. A political hodge-podge in a social-economic sauce. It is really not strange that so many cooks are prepared to add cultural values to taste. Such spices can determine the nature of a dish. And tastes differ. The FAK [Afrikaner cultural origination] likes its stew in a certain way. The SACP, the ANC and organisations such as Cosatu are in turn exchanging other types of recipes.

This does not mean that examples could be found of radically different views to those expressed by permanent editorial members in week day editions, but the cultural views in Saturday edition editorials were arguably more nuanced and less overtly party political. (Human [2010] in fact confirmed that editorial writers for Saturday editions were directly instructed not to engage in party political rhetoric). Still, as the example above also illustrates, the often unstated general departure point of the Saturday editorial also remained Western “high art” in correspondence with the habitus of commentators like Human.

The few individuals in this discussion were singled out because of the apparent information related to their habitus available from an analysis of published content. The fact that relatively little about so few individuals came to light from the direct observation of texts alone, can be ascribed to the ethos of professionalism in journalism in which the individual subjectivity is obscured by the principle and practice of so-called objectivity. The discussion of habitus will be continued and extended in Chapter 6 because much more directly relevant biographical information about arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) became available through interviews. At this point the value of interviews in addition to a CDA of texts is thus made abundantly clear.

5.2 Hegemonic struggles

This section contains an analysis of which groups, power relations, and conflicts were involved in hegemonic struggles at *Die Burger* by discussing the content of arts journalism in

relation to official views of the newspaper and company. The analysis, structured by category (b) of the Van Dijk model, generated the following sub-categories: arts and politics; arts and censorship and boycotts; and arts and Afrikaans culture, including language.

One of the departure points of this study is that arts journalists were creating and contributing to discourses as part of hegemonic (and counter-hegemonic) struggles at *Die Burger* in the 1990s. Although the argument is that arts journalists could have contributed in this way to oppositional discourses (also in relation to their own newspaper), the other side of the coin must also be considered. This study found that arts journalists also sometimes promoted the views and interests of Naspers and *Die Burger* rather uncritically (or maybe it was a situation where their habitus fitted perfectly with its context).

5.2.1 Arts and politics

Traditionally, arts journalism at *Die Burger* acquired cultural capital for various reasons (see Chapter 1) -- including the frequently expressed view (see Breytenbach, 2010) that they often created and/or circulated liberal discourses in direct opposition to those favoured by the conservative ruling NP during apartheid. Because subsequent editors of *Die Burger*, and thus the political desk of the newspaper, were proud to call themselves active supporters of the NP during apartheid (see Vosloo, 2010; Dommisse, 2010), the argument follows that art journalists at the paper could thus have found themselves in conflict with their own colleagues at times.

As the discussion in Chapter 1 indicated, differences of opinion between arts journalists and some members of the NP were in fact visible in at least one specific instance of key importance around the lifting of the colour bar for the Nico Malan theatre. Interestingly enough, however, it would seem that views of the arts editor and the editor of the newspaper both differed from that of the NP on that occasion. Was the arts editor therefore really acting independently, or was he given leave by the editor to join the discursive struggle? Did arts journalists in fact then create oppositional political discourses to the editor (and *ipso facto* the political desk) during apartheid? These questions are not part of the research focus of this study (but could be a fruitful avenue to pursue in future). What falls within the ambit of this study is whether arts journalists in the 1990s created and/or circulated oppositional discourses to those presented as the official political view of the newspaper.

It was already clearly established in section 5.1.1.1 above that the editor during the 1990s, Ebbe Dommisse, maintained and clearly expressed his support for the NP during the largest part of the decade. In comparison, no indication of overt support for the NP became visible from an in-depth CDA of arts journalism in that period. In other words, it could be argued that arts journalists were thus clearly at odds with the political desk -- but that would be too simplistic and possibly seriously misleading. One has to consider the fact that the expression of overt political support was the exclusive domain of political writers at the paper and that the silence of arts journalists on the matter indicates very little (one way or the other). But that does not mean that indicators for covert support for and/or resistance to the NP may not become visible through close analysis. Obviously care should be taken not to read too much from outside into the texts, but one of the central points of departure of this study is that the context is part of the text.

It is, for instance, clearly noticeable that especially during the first part of the decade arts and cultural journalists and gate-keepers were seemingly in agreement with their political colleagues in the run up to the whites-only referendum in 1992 in which the NP sought a mandate to negotiate with the ANC (see DB, 1992/03/11:4; DB, 1992/03/16:4; DB, 1992/03/19:4). In short, arts page coverage (mainly through the selecting and presentation of stories involving artists who promoted a “yes” vote) was clearly framed in favour of a positive outcome in the referendum.

It is also safe to say that in discourses on the arts and culture pages the new (ANC-led) dispensation was often positioned as a threat to the survival of a (Eurocentric) arts and cultural tradition after 1994 (see DB, 1995/08/01:4 -- “Spinneweb gespan vir kunste” [Spider web spun for arts]). Articles writers and reviewers on arts and books pages often supported the anti-communist and anti-ANC discourse of the political desk -- especially in the first part of the decade (see DB, 1991/09/10:8; DB, 1992/07/20:4; DB, 1992/07/25:4).

In 1990, the celebrated Afrikaans author Elsa Joubert commented in an article that she distanced herself decades ago from Afrikaner-nationalism and that “being an Afrikaner was irrelevant to her” (see DB, 1990/07/25:2). In keeping with the trend described in this study that *Die Burger* in general reacted strongly to political criticism from especially Afrikaans writers, the arts page published a news report that directly countered this view a few days later

(see DB, 1990/07/27:12 -- “Afrikanerskap is tóg relevant, sê skrywers” [Being an Afrikaner is still relevant, say writers]).

Although it can be argued that professional journalism practice (including news values) dictates that reports of controversial views by an opinion leader and/or celebrity will always lead to more reports, the fact that this report was selected, framed, and presented in a particular view (for example as lead article on the arts page) suggests a certain priority at *Die Burger*. The argument is that the eventual “message” of the news report, as summarised by the headline, could have been totally different (or at least more nuanced) if the comments of a different group of writers were reported. Arguably, the three writers quoted in the follow-on report -- Madelein van Biljon, Maretha Maartens, and Elsabe Steenberg -- together possessed less cultural capital in the Afrikaans literary field than Elsa Joubert (even if judged solely in terms of official recognition in the form of the top literary awards in Afrikaans). Secondly, the meta-capital (impact of the works across different fields) of the three could not be compared seriously with that of the book that made Joubert famous far beyond the Afrikaner establishment in 1978 -- *Die swerfjare van Poppie Nongena.* This biographical novel dealt with the trials and tribulations of a black domestic worker during apartheid and was widely regarded as ground-breaking and part of a process of alerting ordinary white Afrikaners to the evils and injustices of the system that they supported. Such was the complexity of the cultural and political struggles in the Afrikaans media at the time that the book was published by a subsidiary of Naspers, Tafelberg, and led to intense debates in different sister publications including *Die Burger* (see Beukes & Steyn, 1992:280-283).

On the other hand, traces of oppositional discourses created and/or circulated by arts journalists do exist. Even before it became fashionable to praise Nelson Mandela -- in fact when the editor of *Die Burger* was seemingly targeting him in the early part of 1990 in support of the NP -- the arts editor, Johann Botha, expressed his admiration for the ANC leader in a book review (DB, 1990/05/03:9 -- “Mandela: Geen hierjy dié nie...”[Mandela: This is no ordinary Jack...]). In this way, Botha displayed a measure of independence and even opposition to the official political position of *Die Burger*.

But arguably the most direct confrontation between the editor of *Die Burger* and (some) arts journalists occurred after Botha was replaced by Grütter as arts journalist. The confrontation centered around the TRC. As indicated in 5.1 above, conflict at *Die Burger* between the

editor, Ebbe Dommisse, and a small number of editorial staff members about the TRC came to a head towards the end of 1997 when a group of 127 Naspers employees sent a letter of apology to the TRC against the wishes of their employer (see also the discussion of interview findings in Chapter 6).

In the published content of the newspaper, the tension already became visible in March 1997. The difference of opinion by Dommisse and some arts journalists was seemingly triggered by a theatre review of the André P. Brink play *Die Jogger* by Herman Wasserman of the arts desk. In the play the always controversial Brink revisited the role of Afrikaners in apartheid atrocities. In his review of the play Wasserman suggested that the play invited questions about the collective guilt of Afrikaners (see DB, 1997/02/27:4). A similar suggestion -- that Afrikaners need to address their collective responsibility for apartheid -- was made a few weeks later by Gabriël Botma in a review of the Athol Fugard protest play *Statements after an arrest under the Immorality Act* (see DB, 1997/03/10:4).

A clearly oppositional view was shortly thereafter presented and supported by the political desk. *Die Burger* first selected and prominently presented a statement by Richard Goldstone, a Constitutional Court member, that individuals, not Afrikaners as a group, are legally responsible for atrocities committed during apartheid (see DB, 1997/03/24:1). The political desk then emphasised and supported this view in an editorial published the following day (see DB, 1997/03/25:12). The editorial argued that the country will be "torn apart" if only Afrikaners are "unfairly" blamed (by the TRC) for a violent past (*ibid.*).The editorial writer also repeated the official view that the newspaper maintained throughout the TRC debate -- that human rights abuses occurred on both sides of the white-black divide before and during apartheid and must receive equal treatment by the TRC (*ibid.*).

It is safe to say that the arts editor, Grütter, who allowed publication of opposing views on the arts page, was completely aware of the controversy and the antagonism of Dommisse, in particular, to the TRC. It is therefore interesting to note that even after the initial disagreement in 1997 and the company upheaval around the letter of apology by some journalists to the TRC toward the end of that year, Grütter and the arts desk seemingly maintained their editorial freedom of this matter. For instance, at the beginning of 1998 a theatre review that was severely critical of especially Afrikaner opposition to the TRC was published on the arts pages (see DB, 1998/01/15:6 -- "Briljante stuk praat met vyande van die kommissie"

[Brilliant production talks to enemies of the commission]). The production under review was the internationally acclaimed *Ubu and the Truth Commission*, with animation and direction by one of most famous South African artists of that era, William Kentridge.

In this study, a number of theoretical explanations, relating to strategies for the formation of cultural capital and the building of hegemony, have already been mentioned for the tendency at *Die Burger* to allow oppositional views from arts journalists (that arguably would have been difficult, if not impossible, for members of the political desk to achieve). In short, Dommisse probably viewed the influence of the arts desk on political discourses marginal enough to ignore. This course of action would also have fitted with the view that the arts are independent, universal, and removed from the political context of the day and that editorial freedom was part of the newsroom culture at the paper. Dommisse, in other words, had more to gain from allowing oppositional views from the arts desk than by suppressing them.

Admittedly, however, the limited measure of conflict and confrontation between the arts desk and the political desk in the TRC debate was perhaps the only clear example of a fundamental political difference. As the bulk of the discussion above indicated, arts journalists were seemingly not very often, or that much, at odds with their political colleagues during the 1990s. Flowing from that, the biggest areas of agreement between arts journalists and their political colleagues were arguably around discursive strategies involving the censorship and boycotting of the arts.

5.2.2 Arts and censorships, boycotts

As Chapter 1 indicated, arts journalists at *Die Burger* during apartheid often found themselves at the intersection of different forces because of their loyalty to both the universal and (soul) liberating arts and to a newspaper that supported a political party whose racist policies of segregation included the arts and culture. As apartheid officially drew to an end, they and their political colleagues at *Die Burger* became even more outspoken against cultural censorship.

In September of 1990, André le Roux of the arts desk of *Die Burger* commented critically on the fact that the censors had allowed only two Cape Town screenings of the film *How to make love to a Negro without getting tired* as part of an art movie festival (DB, 1990/09/01:6 --

"Sensors terug uit die berge op soek na prentjies swart-op-wit" [Censors back from the mountains on the lookout for pictures black-on-white]). Le Roux stated that the censors had obviously missed "2 February" and "must have been away in the mountains" from where they have now returned just because this particular movie dealt with sexual relations between a white women and a black man (*ibid*.).

Le Roux's stance here is consistent with the continued opposition expressed by members of the political and arts desk of *Die Burger* to cultural censorship of the NP government and especially during the last decade of apartheid. Various possible explanations for this phenomenon can be offered -- including the fact that it illustrates the tension between structure and agency. Although Le Roux's criticism of the (NP-controlled) censorship dispensation in 1990 can therefore not be seen as seriously in opposition to the official political view of the newspaper at that time, it still illustrates the measure of freedom allowed to arts journalists to expressed cultural-political views.

Although the apartheid era does not form part of the focus of this study, it is also not possible to argue sudden and complete discontinuity between the 1980s and 1990s. Judging by the positioning of seasoned arts journalists such as Le Roux at *Die Burger* in the early 1990s, one of their main concerns during the latter part of apartheid rule probably was a vigorous campaign against state and popular public censorship. In fact, one could assume (this will be explored more directly in interviews in the next chapter) that this (selectively) oppositional role to the NP, and often also to culturally conservative readers of *Die Burger*, became the core of the professional identity of some of these journalists in that period and guided their discursive strategies well into the 1990s. It may be proposed here, then, that the often celebrated (and arguably overemphasised) opposition of arts journalists to both the NP and the official editorial stance of their employer during apartheid could have originated in their very real -- but still selective -- objection to state censorship.

Why "selective"? Again Le Roux provides an example. In keeping with the discourse of universal, free, independent, and autonomous art -- that also corresponded to the official editorial view of the newspaper -- Le Roux criticised Afrikaans authors who supported the cultural boycott of the ANC in 1989 (up to 1990). At the same time he also regularly attacked the continuation of "old style" censorship after 1990 (see DB, 1990/09/01:6). In other words, Le Roux was selective in that he attacked the NP political regime only when it "transgressed"

on the perceived separated terrain of arts and culture. Judged by this standard he acted consistently (according to fixed principles) when he also criticised Afrikaans writers and, by implication also the ANC, for trying to use the arts "in the service of a political struggle".

Similar sentiments on censorship and boycotts to that of Le Roux were expressed by colleagues such as Johann Botha and Wilhelm Grütter (writing under the pseudonym Wim Grové in this case) who were not yet permanent members of the arts desk during apartheid (see DB, 1990/04/19:13; DB, 1990/05/02:6). In others words, the professional habitus of these particular individuals still overlapped significantly even while their professional trajectories before and at *Die Burger* were noticeably different.

The perceived threat of censorship from the "left" in a new dispensation became a central theme. A number of well-known authors, such as Athol Fugard and Jan Rabie, who expressed concern about the cultural policy of the ANC, were quoted in various reports on the arts page (see DB, 1990/05/22:12a; DB, 1990/05/22:12b; DB, 1990/10/13:3). But, to be fair, the arts page also presented a number of articles on the views of a minority of Afrikaans writers who supported the cultural boycott. The views of the renowned poet Antjie Krog, in particular, featured prominently in *Die Burger* at times. Krog was often described as "controversial" and "an open supporter of the selective cultural boycott of the ANC" in reports in *Die Burger* in that period (see for example DB, 1990/10/22:1).

Still, regardless of whether or not the answer is to be found in habitus, political naivety or conscious strategy, the fact remains that arts journalists at *Die Burger* were seemingly in agreement with their editors and managers on the issue of the lifting of the cultural boycott. The arts editor Johann Botha in fact directly expressed his "extreme dislike for all forms of boycott" (see DB, 1991/05:14:7). Consequently, in the early part of the decade various reports, articles, columns and reviews by arts journalists celebrated the announcement and performance of visiting artists and performers from abroad who "broke" the cultural boycott (see DB, 1991/02/08:10; DB, 1991/04/03:6; DB, 1991/04/13:3; DB, 1991/04/17:4; DB, 1991/04/18:6; DB, 1991/05/02:8).

News about (mostly black) South African musicians and artists who returned from exile to perform was also presented as indications that the cultural boycott was crumbling (DB, 1991/04/20:9). Admittedly, space was also created for opposing views such as that of the

prominent ANC leader Albie Sachs, who explained that the boycott was part of ANC strategy to end apartheid (see DB, 1991/05/18:4 -- Le Roux, A. 1991. “Albie Sachs: Maak gebruik van ‘selektiewe’ boikot” [Albie Sachs: Make use of ‘selective’ boycott]). Balanced against the often repeated views expressed in editorials and content of the arts pages, however, these counter-arguments were clearly in the minority.

After the major political battles were won and lost after 1994, arts journalists at *Die Burger* soon returned to the general theme of artistic independence from censorship. Targets for critical discussion ranged from a lack of change at the “new” SABC (DB, 1996/04/22:4) and “faceless bureaucrats” in the fine arts world (DB, 1996/11/20:4) to popular tastes and moral sensitivities of the public and local councils (DB, 1996/11/25:4; DB, 1998/07/13:4) and proposed new government regulations for the protection of children from “harmful” content (DB, 1997/03/13:4).

In sum, the discussion thus indicates that arts journalists and their political colleagues were mostly in agreement in their consistent resistance to both political and moral censorship and the cultural boycott supported by the ANC in the early 1990s. In other words, on the issues of censorships and boycotts no real gap between arts journalists and the official editorial stance of *Die Burger* existed in the 1990s. Chapter 6 will address the following problematic question not made clear by a textual analysis alone: Whether journalists at *Die Burger*, especially arts journalists, consciously shared the strategic positioning of the NP on cultural censorship during the 1990s or whether they were just willingly engaging into a discourse of the free and universal arts?

One may therefore firstly inquire whether this tendency could be explained by the newsroom structure and culture at *Die Burger*. In other words, editors and managers were probably selecting and appointing journalists with a similar (class) habitus to themselves while the institutional structure and culture of the newspaper completed their socialisation as arts journalists. Secondly, it is also possible that these overlaps in habitus influenced the selection and presentation of news report on censorship and boycotts in *Die Burger*.

5.2.3 Arts and company

In the early part of 1990 in particular, the newly appointed arts editor Johann Botha was especially active and vocal in his support for the book publishing division of Naspers (see DB, 1990/04/20:6 -- “Springlewendige jong reus” [Young giant alive and kicking]; DB, 1990/07/28:6). Botha also contributed a series of three articles on the “uncertain future” of Afrikaans in a new dispensation to the op-ed page in this period (see DB, 1990/04/17:13; DB, 1990/04/18:13 & DB, 1990/04/19:15). A few months later the book editor, André le Roux, published a series on the “availability or not” of Afrikaans books, which included a description of the success and influence of the company’s postal order book business, Leserskring, by its head, Hannes van Zyl (see DB, 1990/06/07:8; DB, 1990/06/08:6; DB, 1990/06/09:6a & DB, 1990/06/09:6b).

That does not mean, however, that arts journalists like Botha and Le Roux toed the company line in all respects. To be fair to Le Roux, his series on Afrikaans books covered the issue from various angles (as journalistic professionalism would prescribe) and included critical comments by writers and publishers. In the report about the views of Van Zyl mentioned above, it was for instance also made clear that Leserskring was much more popular for non-fiction and popular fiction offerings than for “serious” literature. But these examples would indicate that the arts journalists were in some way structurally compelled to promote their own company along with the language.

Interestingly enough, arts editor Botha engaged critically with the books division of Naspers, Nasionale Boekhandel, about two years later. He reported that a group of Afrikaans writers reacted angrily to news that Nasionale Boekhandel scrapped plans to open an Afrikaans book store in a large Cape Town suburb that was dominated by Afrikaans speakers (see DB, 1992/10/14:4 -- “Boekwinkel van die baan: Betreur as ‘harseer dag vir die Afrikaanse boek’” [Book store scrapped: Mourned as ‘sad day for Afrikaans book’]). Earlier that year, in the wake of criticism when the company closed down its landmark Afrikaans book store in the centre of Cape Town, Nasionale Boekhandel promised to open a branch of the store in the Afrikaans dominated suburb of Bellville (see DB, 1992/05/16:4 -- Van Schaik trek uit Moederstad [Van Schaik leaves the Mother City]).

Amongst the various quotes by the “outraged and sad” prominent Afrikaans writers and publishers, Botha mentioned that one writer directly said that “they were blatantly deceived”

by the company (DB, 1992/10/14: 4). The report quoted the writer Daniel Hugo who said "unequivocally" (*ibid.*):

> With this decision Nasionale Pers [now Naspers] has let down it writers. According to reports the group is making record profits, but it is not willing to cross subsidize a book store in the Mother City [Cape Town]....If Nasionale Pers seemingly does not care for the Afrikaans book, nobody can believe the company when it says that it wants to promote the interests of Afrikaans, for example through the Stigting vir Afrikaans [Institute for Afrikaans, which Naspers started after 1990 when Afrikaans seemingly became under threat].

In the same vein, the writer Abraham de Vries was quoted as saying that Naspers was sending out a "worrying" political message that "Afrikaans books do not sell", but he argued that this could not be the case because the company's book division recorded good profits in the last financial year (*ibid.*). De Vries's subsequent conclusion, as reported by Botha, was that something was "seriously wrong with the management of the book stores" (*ibid.*). The report also/only quoted a regional manager of the book store division briefly, which strengthened the impression that the decision was based purely on financial considerations.

A few days later, however, a report on the arts page -- published under the (safe) generic byline "Kunsredaksie [Arts Desk] -- clearly tried to counter the negative perceptions created about Nasionale Boekhandel and Naspers in the report mentioned above (see DB, 1992/10/21:4 -- "Van Schaik herbeplan Boekwinkel: Kom gou in die Nasperssentrum" [Van Schaik replan book store: Will open in Naspers Centre soon]). In the report Helgaard Raubenheimer, head of Nasionale Boekhandel, was quoted at length and explained in detail, often directly responding to criticism expressed in the previous report, how his division was promoting Afrikaans literature and supporting Afrikaans writers. The report also clearly stated that a new Afrikaans book store would be opened at the company's headquarters in Cape Town. This was, in fact, not a new development because it was already mentioned soon after the closure of the store in the centre of Cape Town was first announced (see DB, 1992/07/17:10), and repeated (admittedly in a very understated way) in the report a few days earlier in which the angry writers were quoted (DB, 1992/10/14:4).

The extent and content of the reaction of Naspers to criticism in one of its own newspapers indicates that it was not accepted favourably. But arts journalists were arguably allowed more scope to engage in oppositional discourses that did not directly challenge the image and bottom line of their owners. On balance, however, arts journalists were in any case much more supporting of company endeavors than in opposing to them.

Arts journalists were for instance often tasked to publicise initiatives by Naspers in support of Western art music, such as the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra -- who were struggling for survival for most of the decade -- (see DB, 1996/10/26:4) and a Mozart festival (see DB, 1997/05/07:4). An affiliate of Naspers, M-Net, also received publicity in the newspaper as the sponsor of a continental film festival (see DB, 1996/11/16:4) while the book publishing division was mentioned for a revision of the work of the English South African author Herman Charles Bosman (DB, 1997/06/14:4).

Although supporting the arts in general, Naspers clearly decided in the early 1990s to use its established media brands and outlets for the specific promotion of Afrikaans culture (tied to its own commercial interests). An early example is the big Afrikaans music festival sponsored by the pay-television channel M-Net in 1991 in Cape Town (see DB, 1991/03/15:8). Although the direct involvement of M-Net in Afrikaans culture did not really flourish till much later in the decade, this concert was also significant in that its line-up combined musicians and singers from across the spectrum. As the discussion in 5.3 will indicate, the field of Afrikaans music at that stage was clearly still divided between “popular/commercial” (mainstream) and “alternative” (*avant-garde*).

But the promotion and commodification of Afrikaans culture by Naspers took off on a far larger scale when the company became involved in the sponsorship of Afrikaans arts festivals in the middle of the decade. When *Die Burger* announced the Naspers sponsorship of the KKNK in 1994, the arts desk produced two reports: One on the front page (DB, 1994/02/26:1), and a similar but extended one of the arts and entertainment page by the arts editor, Johann Botha (DB, 1994/02/26:4). Members of the arts desk, along with the news desk, were also involved in pre-publicity in the run up to the first KKNK (see for example DB, 1994/05/17:4; DB, 1994/07/08:7; DB, 1994/08/26:1; DB, 1995/02/28:4; DB, 1995/04/05:4). One of the central themes in the coverage of the KKNK and other Naspers sponsored Afrikaans festivals -- the tension between the promotion of Afrikaans and the re-

positioning of Afrikaans in a multi-racial, multi-cultural and multi-lingual post-apartheid environment -- emerged right from the start.

Arts journalists were seemingly enthusiastic supporters of the company sponsored initiative after the launch of the KKNK (DB, 1996/02/01:2; DB, 1996/02/03:4). At the same time, however, the arts editor, Johann Botha, still provided a platform on the arts page for a leading playwright, Deon Opperman, to criticise organisers for logistical shortcomings (DB, 1996/05/08:6a). Unfortunately the impact and merits of the complaint were seriously undermined by a decidedly ad hominem attack on Opperman by the festival director, Pieter Fourie, which Botha placed as instant reply on the same page (DB, 1996/05/08:6b).

5.2.4 Arts and Afrikaans

It is safe to say that no serious conflict between the views of arts journalists on the role of Afrikaans in a new dispensation and the official political viewpoint of the newspaper existed in the 1990s. The following discussion shows that some debate did ensue on arts pages about whether specific strategies employed in the language struggle were productive. However, the fundamental departure point, that Afrikaans was threatened and was fighting for survival, was never seriously at issue. Efforts by some commentators (including arts journalists) to question this departure point were usually quickly countered by discursive strategies. The following examples illustrate this.

In 1992 the arts editor, Johann Botha, provided space on arts pages for the promotion of views by the newly found Stigting vir Afrikaans, a Naspers initiative. The managing director of Naspers had taken the lead in 1991in the establishment of a language institute for Afrikaans “based on the model of institutes in Europe and America” (DB, 1991/05/04:1). Botha published a series of explanatory articles by the director of the institute, Andrew Marias, under the tagline “Vrae en antwoorde oor Die Stigting vir Afrikaans” [Questions and Answers about The Foundation for Afrikaans] (see DB, 1992/09/24:8; DB, 1992/09/22:6; DB, 1992/09/21:6; DB, 1992/09/19:4).

This happened in direct response to criticism by prominent Afrikaans writers and intellectuals that the foundation was another effort by white Afrikaner nationalists to maintain their strangle hold on the language (see DB, 1992/08/05:4). In a subsequent article on the arts page,

Botha in fact personally defended his initial decision to select and publish oppositional views by Afrikaans intellectuals to the Stigting vir Afrikaans (DB, 1992/08/20:4). In this article, he addressed the alleged contradiction of allowing the publication of criticism against an Afrikaans language foundation on the arts pages of a newspaper that was actively promoting it amongst its readers on news and editorial pages (*ibid.*). Botha made it clear that the Stigting vir Afrikaans enjoyed the support of the arts desk "in practice and in principle" but asked that the "time honoured tradition of the open discussion" in *Die Burger* should be respected (*ibid.*). He especially asked his critics to allow the arts desk its traditional relative freedom to "position itself slightly away...from the often passing party political issues of the day in order to debate with more openness the lasting matters of the soul" [geestesgoedere] (*ibid.*). Interestingly enough, Botha also touched on an issue central to this study -- the relationship between arts and political journalism. He stated that the arts desk would not "normally" dare to comment on matters in the tone and style of an editorial but that the ongoing total restructuring of society meant that spiritual and cultural possessions also landed up "in the cross-fire" (*ibid.*). Arts journalists, he concluded, would therefore "be forced to comment on these issues from time to time in order to let readers know where they stand" (*ibid.*).

All in all, however, Botha and the arts desk appeared to be the overall losers in this confrontation with their editor and company managers. This becomes clear when the chronology of the incident is restored: Botha firstly allowed a number of critical views from prominent Afrikaners about the Stigting vir Afrikaans onto the arts pages but was soon after forced to defend himself against influential critics in a longwinded article. Amongst the intellectual posturing and declaration of editorial independence he clearly declared support for the Stigting vir Afrikaans. He then proved this by allowing the director of the institute no less than four articles in which the paradigm of the hegemonic discourse could be repaired.

The arts desk was in general also more or less in concert with their political colleagues in their frequent critical discussions of the position of Afrikaans at a newly restructured SABC. But while the discourse on the political and editorial pages left little doubt that the SABC was deliberately scaling down Afrikaans broadcasting because of historic political antagonism toward the language (see DB, 1999/09/22:14), the arts pages provided room for an arguably more nuanced debate (see DB, 1994/08/01:4). However, for various reasons its remains doubtful whether arts journalists in the end succeeded in creating alternative discourses about the role of Afrikaans in broadcasting.

Firstly, the selection and presentation of content about Afrikaans and the SABC seemingly took place rather randomly. In other words despite some positive framing of developments at the SABC at times (see DB, 1998/02/03:4), no clear discursive alternative emerged. This happened in the main because arts journalists alternated between suggesting alternatives to the survival discourse and taking part in it (DB, 1996/01/16:4; DB, 1995/05/11:4). Secondly, the overwhelming impression created by the selection and presentation of content on news, editorial (including letters to the editor), and political pages dwarfed any and all efforts to introduce alternatives to the view that the SABC (under influence and pressure from the ANC-SACP) was waging a deliberate hostile campaign against Afrikaans.

At least one clear instance of a published difference of opinion between the official editorial view and an opinion expressed by an arts journalists emerged during the decade. In 1999 the arts editor, Wilhelm Grütter[xxviii], argued that the new practice of the SABC to provide English subtitles to Afrikaans programmes on television should be considered a positive development (see DB, 1999/09/21:4 -- "Nuwe koers kan taal help oorleef" [New direction can help language survive]). In apparent direct response, an editorial launched a chafing attack against both supporters of this view and the SABC the next day (see DB, 1999/09/22:14 -- "SABC is 'n breker" [SABC is a destructive force]).

Another good example of this trend occurred in 1997 when Herman Wasserman of the arts desk interviewed the distinguished philosopher Johan Degenaar. Degenaar declared that proponents of Afrikaans were hurting their own cause by employing metaphors of war, struggle, and survival in their discourses (see DB, 1997/05/02:13 -- "Die eie taal is 'n oop huis, eerder as 'n fort" [The language is an open house rather than a fortress].) However, in the same edition of *Die Burge*r, next to this op-ed article, an editorial commenting on a political development regarding the role of Afrikaans in local councils used exactly some of these metaphors that Degenaar explicitly cautioned against (see DB, 1997/05/02:12 -- "Engels, alles Engels" [English, all English]).

Although these and others arts journalists and commentators were in turn also not averse to using struggle metaphors themselves (see DB, 1990/04/17:13), alternatives were also circulated. These alternatives included discursive markers suggesting friendly forms of

promotion through a focus on spontaneous and inclusive (non-racial) group loyalty (DB, 1990/04/18:13) and deliberate marketing strategies (DB, 1990/04/19:15).

The other side of the coin was anger that was sometimes directed at Afrikaans speakers who were regarded as disloyal or harmful to the cause (see DB, 1991/03/01:5; DB, 1994/05/24:4). A common theme of criticism in this regard was so-called language purity -- in other words Afrikaans speakers who deviated from the "pure" mainstream version by including English words and phrases into their oral and written texts were castigated (see DB, 1997/11/26:4).

Fellow Afrikaans speakers also fell foul of criticism on the arts page on other occasions.

The newly appointed arts editor of *Die Burger*, Johann Botha, responded critically to a move by the corporate sponsor AA Lewens to combine the English and Afrikaans language categories of its annual Vita theatre awards in future (see DB, 1990/01/18:9)[xxix]. Although the move arguably announced the downscaling of Afrikaans in the theatre, Afrikaans theatre practitioners and administrators quoted in the report responded favourably because they saw the move as evidence that Afrikaans would be able to hold its own and would not need special protection and treatment in future[xxx].

The report, for instance, mentioned the view of the prominent actor Dawid Minnaar who saw this as an important step in the unification of a nation (although no mention was made in the report of other languages besides Afrikaans and English). According to DB, 1990/01/18:9, Minnaar said that communication, not the conservation of a language, should be the important issue. His view was that "if something needs to be conserved, it is already dead" (*ibid.*). This sentiment fits into an anti-apartheid discourse in which the protection and separation of Afrikaans was closely linked to Afrikaner hegemony. Thus, in opposing Afrikaner nationalism, some relatively liberal-minded Afrikaans speakers often attacked efforts by what they regarded as the conservative and racist right wing to sustain apartheid under cover of the promotion and conservation of Afrikaans.

Botha reacted especially critically to Minnaar's comments the next day in a regular column, Van Alles en Nog Wat, on the designated arts and entertainment page (see DB, 1990/01/19:9 -- "Die koeltjoer is mos KWAC"). The column was traditionally a favourite vehicle for arts editors (and sometimes other members of the arts desk) to comment personally on events and

issues. Botha took Minnaar to task for suggesting that Afrikaans would not need support in "the new South Africa" that is "storming towards us" and states that there are "many people at the ready to hold the knife to the throat of our language" (*ibid.*). This is an excellent example of an Us and Them-discourse in which Botha uses the image of a physical assault and portrays "them" as particularly dangerous or, in Minnaar's case, as naive.

To be fair, in the same breath Botha was also critical of the exclusivity of Afrikaner high culture as it developed during apartheid, but he warns against what he regarded as a negative counter-reaction -- permissiveness/openness without boundaries, substance or values. This loyal-but-critical reaction of Botha fits in with his habitus (as it was outlined above). In other words, although he was critical of apartheid/Afrikaner nationalist ideology, he is fiercely protective of Afrikaans and its canonised artistic traditions and artifacts. In the course of the 1990s, the difficulty Botha experienced in positioning himself in relation to Afrikaans and shifting Afrikaner power dynamics would come to the fore again -- for instance, as his different reactions to the company's book publishing division (discussed above) indicated.

5.3 Label and divide

In extension to the discussion above about tactics of labeling and division by arts journalists in *Die Burger* (1990-1999) the following section will focus on a specific topic -- the enduring debate about the perceived boundaries between forms of high and low arts. As Chapter 3 indicated, the debate in South Africa acquired a specific post-colonial perspective over time, especially in the 1990s with the end of apartheid (the last remaining legacy of colonial rule in South Africa) and efforts by a rising black nationalist elite to rid what they regarded as an indigenous cultural heritage of the influences of Western imperialism. In other words, in South Africa the high/low art debate were further complicated by tensions between so-called Eurocentric/Western and African/indigenous. In addition, the former were often regarded as high, or at least higher in status, than the latter lower traditions and forms.

In sum: This study accepts the cultural studies consensus that it is highly problematic to distinguish between high and low/popular art. Furthermore, the already problematic distinction between high and popular arts and culture is even more contestable and complex in a post-colonial and post-apartheid cultural landscape such as South Africa in the 1990s. But, for the sake of analytical clarity only, this study maintains a measure of distinction between

terms like indigenous Afrocentric and imported Eurocentric, on the one hand, and high and popular art on the other. As Bourdieu argued, arbitrary hierarchies of cultural taste, with real effects, are often promoted by a powerful elite in order to maintain a privileged position. Furthermore, both the apartheid-era establishment and the post-apartheid rising elite used these clear cultural categories in their discursive struggle for hegemonic dominance in the 1990s. This section considers discursive strategies of label and divide employed by specifically arts journalists in positioning themselves in relation to this complicated issue.

5.3.1 Low art

Tension between so-called high arts and popular arts/entertainment was already present in arts journalism at *Die Burger* before the 1990s (see "Habitus" above), but it arguably intensified during that decade due to numerous contextual factors already referred to in this study. Central to this discussion is the role of arts journalists as cultural arbitrators. In terms of the theoretical framework of this study the central question thus arises: What was the basis of their critical judgments of taste?

A CDA of content (1990-1999) indicates that the criteria on which arts journalists at *Die Burger* based their cultural distinctions were not always made clear, and those that became clear were often contradictory. For instance, popularity was often associated with so-called vulgar commercialism (see "Habitus" above for Grütter's view, the link between advertising, a lack of quality, and popular tastes on television in DB, 1990/04/07:4) but of course the basis of popular music and film enthusiasm is that popularity could also be a sign of quality. The same held true for those artists on the margins, also known as *avant-garde* artists, whose obscurity could be a sign of uncontaminated artistic values and merit yet to be discovered (see Breytenbach's favourite reception of a virtually unknown "alternative" Afrikaans pop music in DB, 1990/05/14:6). But obscurity could also be interpreted as a clear sign that a particular artist was on the wrong track and should get a day job. Once the *avant-garde* became popular, they could as easily have been accused of selling out as of setting new trends. Furthermore, cultural offerings could succeed because it was easy or difficult; structured, soulful, poetic and soothing or a challenge to mainstream sensibilities; totally new and original or a contribution to an established genre.

In the case of, for instance, Afrikaans music there were added factors. Afrikaans pop music had to compete with Western (Anglo-American) pop and rock and was generally less regarded than their international counterparts in the 1990s. Furthermore, the field of Afrikaans popular music was also clearly divided into two poles -- so-called progressive alternative and mainstream commercial music (see DB, 1990/12/21:8). In turn, alternative Afrikaans music had more status (cultural capital) amongst arts journalists than mainstream commercial Afrikaans music. These divisions corresponded to the demarcation of the field of cultural production by Bourdieu between the autonomous pole of art for art's sake (and the logic of the *avant-garde*, according to Levine) and the heteronymous pole dominated by economic interests (see Chapter 2).

Due to changes in society after 1990, arts journalists were also compelled to view the role of so-called African traditions and artists in a new light. Where it was arguably relatively easy to (dis)regard African/indigenous traditions as popular/low art during apartheid, the rise of African nationalism demanded a reconsideration. While arts journalists generally welcomed the demise of racist authoritarianism and cultural censorship, their positioning towards the developing discourses of the "new" South Africa was uncertain (see DB, 1990/07/03:4; DB, 1990/09/27:8; DB, 1990/10/4:8; DB, 1990/10/13:4).

For example, in her review of the musical *Street Sisters*, Roline Norval commented that this production was for "people who were wondering what culture in the 'new South Africa' would look like" (DB, 1990/07/03:4). She then pointed to the following: none of the players had formal training (but then also added: "...but who needs training when you can sing and dance like this..."); the text was "naive" and the dialogue "unnecessary"; the pace was "rather slow" because there were a number of "detours" so that the cast could display their "considerable" talents; the set was "original" and the "multi-cultural" choreography and music "excellent", "artful", and "exciting" (*ibid.*). Norval also declared (*ibid.*):

> The people are now talking for the people (themselves) and high/snob culture can leave the scene, which a few people who came looking for high/snob culture promptly did.

Johann Botha reviewed a jazz concert by the group Sakhile (DB, 1990/09/27:8) and humorously/satirically coined his own acronym for the "The New South Africa" (TNSA) [in

Afrikaans: DNSA for "Die Nuwe Suid-Afrika"]. He mentioned that the enthusiastic audience was as "multi-cultural as porridge and caviar" and that the engaging music caused the "boundaries between laager and kraal to fade" (*ibid.*). Like Norval above, Botha also mentioned that so-called high art sentiments were being challenged by (what he jokingly called) the spread of the "TNSA virus" [The New South Africa virus] (*ibid.*). In evaluating the music, Botha declared that it was "intelligent commercial jazz with a characteristic African sound -- unique and engaging" (*ibid.*). He argued that it was "just commercial enough not to get lost in the obscure repetition of themes [and] innovative enough to challenge the mind and set the imagination free" (*ibid.*). Botha concluded (*ibid.*):

> In closing the standing audience is requested to sing or hum (sic) together the Anthem Of Our Country. Hand in hand everybody sway together in time: "Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika". Sakhile is still stirring the pot until [this coming] Saturday night. How can any true Cape member of TNSA [Afrikaans: DNSA-ner] afford not to attend?

Although neither the tone nor the content of these reviews showed any deliberate bias against African art, they clearly displayed similar unstated departure points. Botha and Norval linked African music (and dance) productions, and their ideal audiences, to low/popular arts and culture. In the reviews African productions were on the one hand associated with ("natural") talent, energy, enthusiasm, warmth and humanity, variety and inclusivity but also with naivety, a lowering of (Western) standards and expectations, a lack of training and discipline, and childlike political subservience to a "new" ideology.

5.3.2 High Art

It would seem that even before F.W. de Klerk announced the release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990 that the South African fine arts world was reconstituting the composition of so-called elite culture, social, and symbolic capital (probably in an effort to protect its economic capital). In a review of the opening of an exhibition in Gallery 709 in Cape Town, Zirk van den Berg of *Die Burger* wrote rather sarcastically of the trend to include the works of black artists in the mainstream (DB, 1990/01/31:6 -- "Tentoonstelling van Suid-Afrikaanse kuns: Grense vervaag, wys werk van swart kunstenaars" [Exhibition of South African Art: Boundaries are disappearing, showing works of black artist]. He wrote (*ibid.*):

> It is nearly the border war all over again. The growing attention of the South African arts establishment to the works of black artists is a potential mine field for arts experts. Suddenly there are a host of new names with which to contend.

It is difficult to deduce the exact function of the reference to the South African/ Namibian/Angolan border war in Van den Berg's review. It could be an indication that the struggle ("mine field") had moved from the bush into the field of cultural production and reception. Perhaps he also wanted to point out the irony that the white mainstream was now pursuing those they had deliberately excluded and fought not that long before.

More to the point, Van den Berg bemoaned the fact that critical attention to substance might get lost if a form of reverse racism became the norm, and artists get promoted "just because they are black" (*ibid.*). After a critical discussion he saluted works on show, which contributed in some way to what he regards as the breaking down of barriers between African and European art. In conclusion, Van den Berg made the interesting observation that in particular instances it had become increasingly problematic to try and identify an African style or to distinguish between white and black art. In his view, this development boded well for South African art.

However, not much later and elsewhere (see DB, 1990/08/24:6), Van den Berg stated that it is a "far-fetched dream to think that a homogenous South African culture will develop overnight" (*ibid.*). In a subsequent arts review on the regular arts and entertainment page (DB, 1991/07/03:6), Van den Berg's pessimistic vision was extended. He reiterated the view that hasty "Africanisation" in practice results in reverse discrimination. He evaluated different prize winning line drawings in the renowned annual Standard Bank National Drawing Competition on exhibition in Cape Town. Noticeably, Van den Berg used the predicable dichotomy between Western and African art that was discussed in Chapter 3. Thus he typically argued that because drawing was not an "ancient" African tradition, most African artists, with a few exceptions, were at a disadvantage because they were not properly trained in it. He continued (*ibid.*):

> All expressions in this form [drawing] by African artists necessarily result in efforts to assimilate and adapt the Western tradition. And against their Western (and better trained) colleagues, many of the works of these African artists fell short.

Still, some of these "inferior" works were accepted into the Standard Bank competition, and won prizes, while some of the "better" Western contributions were rejected (*ibid.*). Van den Berg then illustrated the argument by referring to the case of a white artist, Wayne Barker, who submitted a work under the African-sounding name of Andrew Moletse and under his own name. Only the former was accepted by the panel of judges.

Although one could speculate about possible reasons why a panel of judges sponsored by a big commercial bank might have included contextual criteria into their selection and judging process in the 1990s in South Africa, the aim here is not an evaluation of this particular arts competition. At issue is a critical evaluation of the discursive strategies that Van den Berg employed.

In the first instance he never questioned the irony that he labeled all the white South African artists as Western. In white South African arts circles a popular theme for decades during apartheid was the exploration of their so-called African roots. Furthermore, Van den Berg did not view it as problematic that he posited Western style training as the remedy for "the social and educational backlog of some of the [black African] artists" (DB, 1991/07/03:6). His departure point that the Western standard of drawing was necessarily the standard was also not logically examined. It also seems to contradict the call for more "hybridization and the disappearance of the boundaries between white and black art" that Van den Berg himself expressed just a year and a half earlier (see DB, 1990/01/31:6 as well as the first part of the discussion above). True, the first exhibition dealt with a variety of media and the second exclusively with drawing, but it does not make sense that drawing in South Africa still was, or should remain, a Western tradition at the end of the 20th century.

On what grounds, then, did arts journalists at *Die Burger*, such as Van den Berg, base their critical distinctions, their judgments of taste? Was it purely a personal and arbitrary process or was it more structured? I argue for the latter and as illustration will use a column, called

"Voetnoot", also by Van den Berg (DB, 1990/08/24:6 -- Nóú is tyd van vryheid vir kunste [Now is the time for freedom for the arts]).

Van den Berg used a quote from H.L. Mencken as a motto: "It is almost as safe to assume that an artist of any dignity is against his country, i.e. against the environment in which God hath placed him, as it is to assume that his country is against the artist" (*ibid.*). This sentiment is related to what Levine (2007) positively called the "logic of the *avant-garde*", which, as Chapter 3 showed, is often shared by artists and arts journalists. But, in examining the link between art and power, Van den Berg adopted a rather pessimistic (and arguably rather standard Bourdieuan) interpretation by arguing that some prominent black artists will probably only replace prominent white ones in terms of official recognition in the "new" South Africa (DB, 1990/08/24:6).

Van den Berg acknowledged that the period of transition from apartheid had brought about "virtually unprecedented freedom" for the arts, but he argued that this was in the main because politicians were attending to more pressing issues (from their perspective) than the arts at that time (*ibid.*). The implication was that this state of freedom for the arts could change for the worse once the parameters of new power elite were established. Van den Berg in fact wondered whether the new dispensation would in the end mean more or less creative freedom and whether criticism against the system would (again) be disallowed "like in Russia in the past" (*ibid.*). This comment, similar to the official editorial view of *Die Burger* discussed above, probably referred to the fact that the (also Soviet-supported) liberation movements employed arts and culture as a tool against apartheid.

As this column (DB, 1990/08/24:6) shows, arts critics at *Die Burger*, such as Van den Berg, often had a rather ambivalent positioning towards the phenomenon of art in the service of politics. They would often adopt a Kantian perspective of universal aesthetics and evaluate and criticise so-called protest art (including music and theatre) as context-bound (in a political sense) and therefore inferior. Van den Berg, for instance, welcomed a broadening of the sphere of cultural influences with the "rightful" inclusion of black artists in the mainstream, but he made it clear that he saw it as an "improvement", not a "liberation" (*ibid.*). But true to the logic of the *avant-garde*, arts journalists would also often distance themselves from (some) commercially successful and popular mainstream arts and cultural productions and artifacts. Van den Berg, for example, stated (*ibid.*):

> As far as the arts go, the New South Africa most probably only means that the tyranny of the elite will be replaced by the tyranny of the masses. And the artist remains an individual.

In other words, Van den Berg was also, at least in part, guided by the logic of the *avant-garde*, which argues that art (for art's sake) must be challenging and transformative of all forms and levels of power abuse. Why then, were arts journalists like Van den Berg not in general more supportive and celebratory of black protest, liberation, and post-liberation art when the logic of the *avant-garde* suggests a decidedly political role for the arts and artists as representatives of the victims of power abuse in society?

The answer may be that some arts journalists at *Die Burger* fused a Kantian high art perspective with the logic of the *avant-garde*. This fusion was possible because both perspectives have exclusive and elitist tendencies. One could even argue that they are two sides of the same coin. The first perspective emphasises elite aesthetics (to empower the people through education/insight/knowledge) while the second perspective concentrates on the transformative nature of artistic content (produced by the few) in aid of the political and cultural emancipation (of the masses). Thus, protest art could be consecrated but only if it was judged to be universal in the first instance. By the same token, commercially successful mainstream art could also be consecrated but only if consensus arose that it was challenging and transformative before it became popular and economically viable. Arts journalists could therefore not consecrate art that was "only" protesting and/or popular.

At the end of the decade Van den Berg's successor as permanent arts critic of *Die Burger*, Cobus van Bosch, revised the theme of Africanisation in a review of the work of Thembinkosi Goniwe in Cape Town (DB, 1999/11/24:8 -- "Vrae ontstaan oor Afrika kuns" [Questions arise about African art]). According to Van Bosch, a "politically correct fashion of the day, not only in what is presented but how" has South African art "in its grip" and is doing it a "disservice" (*ibid.*). Van Bosch argued that although art about African culture and traditions was presented as a "new breeze" in the art world, it was kept firmly within the "domain of an exotic panoramic" (*ibid.*). He continued (*ibid.*):

> It has gone so far that trendsetters in the art world will imply that the 'African' way of depicting Africa, in the past created for and by the white arts establishment, must be reserved as the exclusive terrain of and assignment for black artists.

In other words, by the end of the 1990s the traditional dichotomy between white (Western) elite and black (African) popular, had been reconfigured according to the dictates of the day -- and most importantly, without dissolving the original distinction.

It would also seem that not only did the so-called Eurocentric elite-art mainstream keep the perceived hierarchy between Western and African art alive, but that it was also accepted and internalised by some members of the new and aspiring African elite (just as Baker [1997] and Said [1994] described). One of the main role players in this regard was Thabo Mbeki who succeeded Nelson Mandela as President of South Africa in 1999.

It is a popular misconception that the cultural programme of the so-called African Renaissance got underway only after Mbeki became President. In fact, Mbeki, as Deputy-President, already introduced the project while the Mandela sector was still trying to build the "rainbow nation" (see DB, 1998/07/29:9 -- "TV wil klem op Afrika laat val" [TV wants to put emphasis on Africa]). Nita Hazell from the arts desk of *Die Burger* reported that the SABC planned to showcase the "indigenous culture of the continent" in future by broadcasting movies, documentaries, music awards, cultural festivals, and conferences (*ibid.*). According to Hazell, the SABC channel had created a "special Africa Renaissance department" with the aim to "give expression to African culture in all its forms" (*ibid.*). The report also mentioned a host of African Renaissance events that deputy president Thabo Mbeki would be involved in and which would be broadcasted (often live) on SABC2. These included different festivals of indigenous dance, storytelling, and music; interviews with African heads of state about the "philosophy of an African renaissance"; a conference with the African renaissance as a theme with Mbeki as key speaker (*ibid.*). Significantly for the focus of this study, Mbeki was billed to speak about "his strategic view on Renaissance versus Globalization" (*ibid.*). Seen in this light, Mbeki's project to put African culture on the national and international map against the threat of (Western) globalisation amounts to a recognition that the former was still considered less recognised and valuable ("lower") than the latter "higher" tradition. At the same time it

was also part of a strategy of challenging the hegemony of colonialism and apartheid in order to build a broad new popular consensus close to a new power elite.

Interestingly, Mbeki had also co-opted the most popular medium, television, for this project. In the first instance, the perceived power and influence of TV to change perceptions arguably stretched wide in the 1990s. It could thus be that Mbeki argued that he needed to fight fire with fire as the Western enemy was conquering the world through television at that stage. Ironically, however, the opponent on TV was Western influenced popular culture (not so-called high/elite art). Although the government was also trying to reform the performing arts (arguably closer to the home of traditional Western high art in South Africa), popular mediated Western arts and culture had arguably already become a much bigger threat to any efforts to revitalise so-called indigenous culture even before the end of apartheid.

5.4 Main discourses

This section spells out the recurrent themes, topics, and strategies in debates and opinions expressed by arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999). Through the use of Van Dijk's model of CDA, four main discourses -- protest, reconciliation, crisis, and education -- were identified as sub-categories in this part of the analysis.

5.4.1 Protest

Arts journalists often positioned themselves ambiguously towards the expression of political protest through the arts. Seemingly in agreement with and continuation of consensus about apartheid period cultural discourses in the establishment, so-called protest arts and theatre were generally consecrated only in as far as it was also regarded as universal (that is not bound to its political context for its relevance and meaning). On the other hand, as the discussion above indicated, arts journalists often rejected the concentration of so-called low art forms that were considered totally removed from political relevance (that is "pure" entertainment).

After 1990, the picture became even more complicated. Although apartheid officially ended only in 1994 (and its legacy lived on for decades thereafter), some arts journalists were already questioning the continued relevance of protest arts and theatre in 1991. For instance,

in 1991 the theatre critic Danie Botha reported on the common view amongst critics that some well-known anti-apartheid protest theatre pieces had suddenly lost their relevance and were now considered "rather weak" (DB, 1991/12/03:10 -- see also DB, 1991/04/02:4; DB, 1991/06/4:11; DB, 1991/03/14:6 for similar sentiments).

The frequently articulated idea was that the loss of a clear and easy political target (apartheid) had robbed many artists of their *raison d'être*. Arts journalists regarded this as a positive development, which was logical in light of their general suspicion towards art works that were overtly or mainly a vehicle for personal political causes and sentiments. The irony is that arts journalists were on the one hand thus blaming Afrikaners for not coming to grips with their apartheid past, while on the other hand contributing to a popular discourse that apartheid was "boring old news" by prodding artists to move past apartheid.

By 1994 the issue of the artistic value of protest art (against apartheid) had arguably been replaced in newspaper discourses with the consequences of the so-called Africanisation of society. The arts editor, Johann Botha, commented on a controversial gathering by a group of 80 Cape Town artists to protest the fact that curators of the planned Johannesburg Biannual in 1995 were reportedly "only interested in African art" (DB, 1994/03/14:4 -- "Dis swart sedoos vir Kaapse kunstenaars" [It's a black southeaster for Cape artists]). Botha mentioned that the head organiser, Christopher Till, denied that the curators were instructed to be biased toward the work of black artists, but he continued (*ibid.*):

> But if you wanted to listen carefully the relevant facts are the following: The Biannual will take place from February to April 1995. It is preceded by the elections of April 1994. Just guess what are expected of the elections and of the international reaction to it?

Botha was thus suggesting a more or less direct link between the political event in 1994 and the cultural event nearly a year later. In support of that argument he mentioned that "an important component of the Biannual centers on the training of local 'disadvantaged' aspirant-curators" (*ibid.*). By qualifying "disadvantaged" [in Afrikaans "agtergeblewe" literally meaning "the ones that stayed behind"], Botha referred to popular terminology in the political discourse of the day (a call for affirmative action for black people) and seemingly also distanced himself from it.

He stated that the Biannual would include international artists and an "exhibition of African art, including art from Southern Africa" (*ibid.*). This comment, as well as the fact that he regarded it as "significant" that the "chosen name for the upcoming Johannesburg Biannual is...Africus" (*ibid.*), indicated that Botha was engaging critically with the re-positioning of South African art as part of a greater African context. This seems to be confirmed by the following (*ibid.*):

> One of the artists on the protest meeting wanted to know: 'I am from European origin; my people are in this country for the last three hundred years. My language is Afrikaans. Do I qualify as an African artist?'

In this, Botha was arguably reflecting the fears and sentiments of a significant number of his readers at the time. He also illustrated a central theme in the discourse of Africanisation that would continue well into the next decade -- the problems of defining "African" (see Botma, 2010).

In closing, Botha mentioned that "one can predict with safety that the Johannesburg Biannual will include the work of a small group of selected 'Eurocentric' artists" but that "many Cape artists" will probably have to face the fact that the times had changed (*ibid.*). Botha used the image of the "black southeaster", referring to an infamously strong south easterly seasonal wind in Cape Town, to describe the changing times. He concluded (*ibid.*):

> For many Cape artists a black southeaster is blowing. It does not bring rain.

The inference of his imagery and word play, is that for white (and maybe also so-called coloured) artists the changing times are basically black and disruptive, even fruitless. Even if one grants him the benefit of the doubt because of a satirical tone and light touch -- much more humorous than bitter and reactionary -- Botha still re-enforced a typically racist binary that black is equal to something negative.

Towards the end of the decade, protest in arts journalism often centred on so-called postmodern identity politics and the related challenge to mainstream norms and taboos, such as child sexuality (see DB, 1997/10/08:4). Especially in relation to the role of Afrikaans and

Afrikaans culture in a new dispensation, the theme was also prominent as part of the discourses of crisis and education (see discussion below).

5.4.2 Reconciliation

The widespread popular discourse that post-apartheid South Africans must reconcile on all levels was consistently circulated and very strongly supported on the arts and cultural pages of *Die Burger* in the 1990s. The underlying departure point was arguably that the educational and so-called uplifting (civilising) nature of the arts could contribute to a peaceful and harmonious society in ways that other areas of social life were unable to do.

On a basic level, arts journalists selected and positively framed reports about cultural changes in society, such as the formal opening up of broadcasting to the whole population (see DB, 1990/07/24:4; DB, 1991/08/03:4), and presented reconciliatory cultural discourses (including statements from prominent ANC supporters such as Albie Sachs and Wally Serote (see DB, 1990/10/18:11; DB, 1991/07/10:4).

Secondly, arts editors and journalists clearly strove to incorporate artists and art works and occasions and productions that adhered to a reconciliation criterion for coverage (see DB, 1997/12/20:4; DB, 1996/06/11:7; DB, 1995/11/29:4; DB, 1993/04/03:4; DB, 1992/02/22:6; DB, 1991/10/14:4).This strategy included formerly whites-only institutions, companies, and groups that “opened up” their membership and activities (see DB, 1991/06/4:8) as well as black artists who arguably received little or less attention in *Die Burger* during apartheid (see DB, 1996/04/23:4; DB, 1993/04/03:4; DB, 1998/11/16:6; DB, 1998/12/15:4).

On a third level, arts journalists employed discursive strategies which reflected a symbolic turn to Africa (see DB, 1991/04/12:6). In the process, white readers, who seemingly did not share their enthusiasm for a particular black artists or “African” art form, were sometimes castigated (see DB, 1991/06/22:6).

A good example of the discourse of reconciliation occured when *Die Burger* reported in the beginning of 1990 about a concert in Cape Town by the famous “White Zulu”, an English speaking South African named Johnny Clegg, who was strongly influenced by traditional Zulu music and dance (DB, 1990/01/11:21; DB, 1990/01/12:6). During apartheid, Clegg and

Sipho Mchunu drew attention when they first formed a multi-racial group, Juluka, which evolved into Savuka when Mchunu left. They achieved international acclaim, but during apartheid the SABC played little of their songs on air and banned one that was written for Nelson Mandela (see DB, 1987/03/13:19).

According to the review (DB, 1990/01/12:6) by Emile Joubert, a member of the arts desk, the 7 000 strong crowd who attended the concert in the Good Hope Centre in Cape Town was "mostly on the white side", but he commented that a "few of the spectators could still dance nearly as well as the White Zulu" (*ibid.*). Joubert described the music of Savuka as "their own unique African music" with its "tinkling guitars, thundering drums, a jolly concertina, and a mixture of kwela, township-jive, jazz and a little reggae" (*ibid.*). Joubert mentioned that each song was welcomed by "a sea of arms, the hands clenched into fists every time" and that Clegg talked in-between about "such things" as his musical influences and about "the walls that have to broken down in South Africa" (*ibid.*). He continued (*ibid.*):

> Clegg has a vision for his country, displayed by the song 'One Human One Vote'...

But in general Joubert focused much more on Clegg's "amazing stamina" and a sensory description of the sights and sounds rather than trying to reflect coherently on any cultural-political implications of the concert and/or statements of the artist(s). In closing he returned to the (skin) colour theme:

> At the end of the concert, when he and Savuka hugged each other on stage, his white chest was bare and his big heart warm. And so was yours.

One could argue that the emphasis on the whiteness of the main artist and the (adoring) crowd, coupled to the African (influenced) nature of the instruments, music and dance routines, still/already entailed the expression of a political "statement" at this stage in South African history (a few weeks before F.W. de Klerk's unbanning of the ANC). On the other hand, this example also indicated some of the boundaries of the discourse of Africanisation for arts journalists of *Die Burger* at the time.

The fact that this perceived version of African culture was mediated by a person from European dissent, seemed important to the reviewer, as well as the view that (this version of) African music was an eclectic and vibrant mixture -- exotic but still familiar. The myth of the seemingly endless energy of the African performing artist was also transposed onto Clegg. In other words, Joubert displayed a perspective in which Africanisation was exciting and emotional but still understandable and accessible on his own terms. In this simplistic argument, Clegg was someone who had broken down the doors to African culture. And in accepting Clegg, one was also accepting Africa (and was in turn maybe also accepted by the indigenous people of the continent).

Of course, the real picture was much more complicated, as events after 1990 would duly illustrate. But the question arises whether the disillusionment, anger, and frustration of some journalists at *Die Burger* at efforts to Africanise the South African arts and culture landscape later in the 1990s did not arise in part from a similar simplistic perspective on Africanisation. Whatever the case, this arguably new engagement with Africa also had a sharp edge, which often displayed itself alongside, and even as part of, discourses of reconciliation. This trend is part of what can be called a discourse of crisis.

5.4.3 Crisis

The most prominent theme in the discourse of crisis was the events and consequences of the official restructuring of the arts and culture dispensation under pressure to Africanise society. The arts desk not only contributed many prominent reports and articles to news pages on this matter but also constructed and circulated an ongoing discourse of crisis around it on arts pages.

Similar to news pages, the coverage on arts pages often focused on changing state structures and priorities and the resultant financial shortages experienced by many established so-called Western/high performing art companies (opera, ballet, symphony orchestras) -- see DB, 1990/11/29:1; DB, 1990/12/18:10; DB, 1999/10/23:9). As indicated in 5.1.3.2 above, arts journalists in fact on occasion campaigned actively for funds amongst readers to “save” the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra (DB, 1996/12/17:8; DB, 1996/12/19:4) and were duly thanked by the orchestra in a letter to the editor (see DB, 1996/12/20:16a). The discourse of

crisis was also extended to discussions about the continued existence of established institutions such as fine art and cultural museums and libraries.

For example, in DB, 1998/07/15:4 the fine arts writer Cobus van Bosch reported that "warning lights were flickering" at the South African National Arts Gallery in Cape Town due to a lack of funds. The director of the museum was quoted as follows (*ibid.*):

> The government must wake up. We have a national arts treasure worth billions of rand here...

Van Bosch (*ibid.*) also reported that the director of the museum had written to the department of arts and culture to alert them to the crisis but that she had been waiting in vain for any reaction. Van Bosch then stated in conclusion of the report (*ibid.*):

> In reaction to an inquiry [by Van Bosch]....the spokesperson for the minister said such letters would normally be referred to the communication department and the office of the director, Mr Jardine. According to the director of communication of the department, Andile Xaba, Mr Jardine is currently on leave.

Earlier in the decade, the "demise" of the SA Centre for Arts Information was lamented (DB, 1991/10/31:4). DB, 1991/01/30:4 reported that "the country's cultural-historic heritage worth billions was going to waste slowly but surely in the store rooms of many museums". Of course, in light of South Africa's colonial and apartheid history one would have to query the assumption that the "cultural-historic heritage" in storages indeed represented the culture of the majority of South Africans in 1991.

That does not mean that this study denies the existence of real problems, to the detriment of arts, culture and heritage in general, during the transition period in the 1990s or that no mistakes were made by the authorities. But, what is clear from the tone and content of the reporting, as illustrated above, is that the perceived crisis was often presented as the result of an uncaring, ill-informed, and/or incompetent new power elite who suffered from a lack of Culture (with a capital C) and even Civilization. Although I would argue that in general the discourse of crisis on arts pages was more nuanced than those constructed and circulated on

news and editorial/opinion/letter pages, it arguably still maintained elements of a crude duality of Western civilisation versus African backwardness. In a more sophisticated version, this duality ascribed values of cultural universality to an established and arguably Western-orientated mainstream heritage. On the other hand, the so-called African/indigenous tradition was often regarded as parochial and somewhat naive, and depended on its political and cultural context for meaning and significance. Thus the crisis could be presented as a threat to universal human achievement -- to Civilisation no less.

It therefore made sense that most commentators on arts pages would consistently be irritated by the discourse of Africanisation and rejected the negative "Eurocentric" label for the established mainstream traditions that were in the main favoured by white audiences. Apart from an occupational distrust of political/technical jargon and what they probably regarded as politically correct labelling, arts journalists seemingly considered these artistic traditions as universal -- not belonging to a certain socio-political and cultural context. To entertain another possibility would probably have threatened the very foundation of their criteria of judgment. On the other hand, as far as this analysis could establish, arts journalists were not unwilling to label the "other" tradition as decidedly African.

5.4.4 Education

Arts journalists often assumed the traditional role of what Habermas (1989) called "kunsrichter" -- a self-proclaimed educator of the public. In this role, arts journalists informed readers of what they regarded as progressive trends in the arts and culture in general.

Similarly to trends already discussed in this chapter, arts journalists were increasingly (and I would argue, impatiently) searching for a replacement of apartheid and its legacy as a focal point. As the decade progressed, identity formation in a multi-cultural society emerged as a strong theme. But, the emergence of identity politics was just as often regarded within a discourse of crisis than as part of an educational process.

Amongst the issues most frequently selected for discussion were the post-apartheid restructuring of the arts (DB, 1993/04/12:4), including the cultural policy of the ANC (DB, 1993/05/27:4) and Africanisation (DB, 1993/03/01:9). The implication of Africanisation for black artists was discussed in depth by Cobus van Bosch (see DB, 1996/11/11:4 -- "Swart

kuns is steeds buite hoofstroom" [Black art is still outside the mainstream]). Van Bosch described how the liberation of South Africa also created new opportunities for black artists. In fact, he stated: "Afrocentricity is the order of the day and galleries and museums are falling over their feet in order to exhibit or buy the works of black artists" (*ibid.*). This came at a price, however. Not only in South Africa, but internationally also, black artists and the work that they do were "suppressed and manipulated" (*ibid.*) to fit into a Western idea of the essence of Africa. This led to the continued marginalisation of black arts because white artists did not have to consider their ethnicity and were only required to be "free souls" (*ibid.*). According to Van Bosch (*ibid.*):

> The issue is grounded in the light within which the West looks at Africa (in fact also many non-Western cultures). Today there still is a view that traditional cultures in Africa are 'primitive', close to nature, naïve, unpolluted and without frills. The traditional African is regarded as someone with a certain inborn essence that is unique to Africa[xxxi].

Besides Africanisation, arts journalists were often also circulating educational and counter-hegemonic discourses with regards to contentious matters such as sex (DB, 1996/08/03:4), including the repression of homosexuality (DB, 1999/09/02:4); marginally represented identity such as mental disorder (DB, 1999/09/04:4); racism (DB, 1993/02/15:4) and apartheid (DB, 1993/07/13:6); the arts as arts (DB, 1999/04/12:4; DB, 1995/01/25:10); the (unhappy) fate of the arts reviewer (DB, 1993/06/16:4); and historical revisionism in which hegemonic apartheid era discourses were challenged (DB, 1996/03/13:5).

5.5 Discursive strategies: Selection and presentation

Following the Van Dijk model of CDA, this section examines which issues were selected for coverage and where and how debates around arts and culture were presented in *Die Burger*.

The sections above pointed out that a discrepancy sometimes occurred between the framing of news reports of arts and culture events and debates and the secondary official responses, by both political and arts journalists, in editorials and columns (see for example DB, 1991/02/09:2 & DB, 1991/05/16:12 where the framing of the news report about the cultural boycott supported by the ANC appeared relatively more progressive than editorial

comment on that topic). One could argue that this tendency illustrates the relative independence and detachment of journalists and sub-editors from their editors and managers to publish counter-views. It could at the same time be attributed to the fact that the culture and practices of professionalism in newsrooms could require frames that could differ from official newspaper views. Related to that is the establishment of news gathering and production routines -- for example around the use of relatively unchanged copy from news agencies and other outside sources whose frames might differ from that of own reporters and editors. In short, in analysing newspaper discourses a researcher is confronted with the fact that a multiplicity of voices seemingly exists. The perception that many voices are talking to (and against) each other in newspapers could maybe account in part for the often expressed disbelief by journalists when they stand accused of bias. The real challenge, however, is to analyse not only content (including headlines) of newspaper copy but to regard coverage also in the context of its selection and presentation. Granted, such an analysis does not "prove" (or aim to prove) that all readers will deduce the same "messages" from the coverage. This study accepts that different stages of reading exist -- as described by (amongst others) Stuart Hall in his encoding/decoding-model (Hall, 1980). In terms of the theoretical framework outlines in Chapter 2 it can, however, be argued that the discourses created in this manner have the power to in- and exclude views and thus create and contribute to perceptions of "reality" amongst readers.

5.5.1 Front-page issues

An overview of the trend of front page coverage of cultural events at *Die Burger* yielded interesting results. Traditional so-called hard news values were consistently applied for the selection and presentation of cultural news as well. Thus, death, injury, controversy, and scandal involving local and international celebrities were most often the criteria for selection. In terms of cultural politics, two issues dominated in the early part of the decade: the positioning of Afrikaans writers to the cultural boycott still (partially) supported by the ANC, and related to that the returning and/or visiting of internationally acclaimed artists; and the proposed restructuring of the regional arts councils, especially the Cape Town based Capab (see DB, 1990/09/07:1; DB, 1990/07/18:1; DB, 1990/10/15:1).

During the pre-1994 period, *Die Burger* actively campaigned against the cultural boycott as part of their support for the NP (see 5.1.3.2). Accordingly, arguably the most frequent front

page presentation of cultural matters (apart from reports involving Afrikaans and the KKNK) occurred in that period when well-known (or even lesser known -- see DB, 1991/04/16:1) artists visited the country. Even after the cultural boycott had lost much of its official political support, also within the ANC, the visit in 1992 by the legendary pop artist Paul Simon was still framed within a discourse of conflict between artists freedom and political interference (see DB, 1992/01/08:1; DB, 1992/01/13:1). Before the tour, *Die Burger* commented in an editorial (DB, 1992/01/09:10) that it should have been "a joyful cultural happening" but that threats of violence by groups such as the PAC were "throwing a dark cloud over the event". Thus, after the first concert in Johannesburg, *Die Burger* presented a news report on its front page with the heading "Geen geweld by Paul Simon se konserte ondanks dreigemente" (No violence at Paul Simon concert despite threats). According to the report (*ibid.*):

> Yesterday, before the first concert, only around two hundred protesters stood in front of the stadium with banners such as "Yankee Go Home" and "Libaration fisrt intertanment (sic) after Viva Azayo". The police did not act against the protesters.

It might be that the PAC and others did pose a serious threat to the tour at some stage, and that the protest action died down for some or other reason by the time Simon finally had arrived. But, it is also possible that *Die Burger* automatically circulated a regular crisis-discourse at the first hint that not everybody supported the visit of the American pop star. Thus, without really trying to establish the depth of threats against Simon, the newspaper framed the event as a major conflict. The fact that the writer of the report selected and emphasised the spelling errors on one banner, conveys the message that the (black) protesters were uneducated. This is a typical discursive act of "Othering" an opponent, as Van Dijk (1998) describes it. The last sentence of the paragraph above also holds an important clue. Why, can one ask, is it necessary for the writer to note that the police did not act? There are a number of explanations, but in 1992 it probably indicated the expectation of the writer that even a negligible form of (black) protest could (should?) be squashed by state force. It was after all the norm during apartheid.

In comparison to discourses and debates around, for instance, politics, economics, crime, natural disasters, and sports, those involving arts and culture were under-represented on the front page of *Die Burger*. It would seem that clear and specific discursive markers and

boundaries existed in terms of which arts and culture news was selected for prominent presentation. An analysis of front-page coverage involving arts and culture suggested a number of discursive categories -- self-promotion, Afrikaans, the KKNK, celebrity and conflict, high arts and restructuring, celebrity/high arts, and celebrity/entertainment -- which will be addressed separately below.

5.5.1.1 Self-promotion

Arts and culture news that reached the front page was often related to events that *Die Burger* and Naspers were involved in as sponsors and/or promoters. These events included news about entertainment affiliates, such as M-Net, the company's pay-television network (DB, 1993/11/10:1), sponsored music and arts festivals (DB, 1993/03/03:1), and internal changes to the arts and culture offering in the newspaper itself (DB, 1993/02/02:9; DB, 1992/02/08:1).

5.5.1.2 Afrikaans

As the discussion above repeatedly indicated, Afrikaans was one of the most active discursive markers in the creation of arts and culture discourses in *Die Burger*. This was true also for front-page coverage -- especially when the economic interests of the newspaper and company converged with its strategic political/ideological aims around Afrikaans in the middle of the decade. In fact, coverage was seemingly guaranteed if the cultural event could be discursively mobilised as a sign of either the progress and achievement of or threat to the role and positioning of Afrikaans in a post-apartheid linguistic and cultural market.

Die Burger firstly became actively involved in creating support and raising money amongst readers for the Stigting vir Afrikaans (Foundation for Afrikaans) when Naspers took the initiative to launch the body for the protection and promotion of this "threatened" language in 1992 (see DB, 1992/09/01:1; DB, 1992/05/12:1; DB, 1992/05/13:1; DB, 1992/05/15:1; DB, 1992/06/06:1)[xxxii]. But the best example of the importance of Afrikaans as a cultural marker occurred when Naspers and *Die Burger* became involved in the organisation and sponsorship of huge Afrikaans arts and culture festivals from 1995 onwards, and prominent coverage in the newspaper increased significantly (see for example DB, 1995/04/10:1; DB, 1995/04/08:1; DB, 1995/04/07:1; DB, 1995/07/11:1). By the end of the decade, annual front page coverage

of the KKNK was a predictable feature while the overall prominent presentation of arts and culture in general seemingly dwindled.

5.5.1.3 Celebrity/conflict

As indicated above, the selection of arts and cultural news for front-page presentation often depended on the overlapping of a number of specific interests of the newspaper. But that is only part of the story -- while Afrikaans and the KKNK were clearly regarded as strong discursive markers, their effectiveness in strategic mobilisation (and thus their chances of being selected) often depended on the presence of additional traditional so-called news values, such as conflict and celebrity, as well. Furthermore, considerations such as conflict and celebrity are often difficult to separate. An example is provided by an incident around an international celebrity at the third KKNK in 1997 that immediately made the festival the centre of nation-wide discursive struggles around Afrikaans.

The spark was provided by a section of the Afrikaner dominated crowd at a festival rock concert who reportedly hurled tin cans in the direction of a number of performers, including one of the darling protest artists of the black liberation movement, the internationally acclaimed Miriam Makeba (see DB, 1997/03/31:1). Prominent ANC political leaders reacted with fury (DB, 1997/04/01:1) because the act was viewed as a direct rejection of and challenge to Makeba's conciliatory gesture to accept the invitation to perform in Oudtshoorn in the first place. *Die Burger* also condemned the incident in the strongest terms but attributed it to the actions of a "few [drunk] individuals" and was at pains to point out that Makeba was not the only target (DB, 1997/03/31:1). This is a typical example of the discursive strategy of denial of racism described by Durrheim *et al* (2005).

In 1998, public protest to scenes of nudity and simulated sex in a KKNK play, *Boklied*, by the internationally renowned Afrikaner born artist Breyten Breytenbach was prominently reported (see DB, 1998/04/03:1). The incident sparked a protracted debate in *Die Burger* between defenders of public morality and defenders of artistic freedom.

A year later the newspaper still exploited the controversy (that it had helped to create) by reporting that an actor, who was part of the *Boklied* cast the previous year, had died in a motor car accident on his way to the KKNK where he was to perform in a different production (DB,

1999/03/23:1). In other words, the notoriety of Breytenbach and the nudity on stage-debate at the KKNK (the new home of Afrikaans culture) had been deciding factors in the selection of these events for front-page coverage.

The (implied and/or explicit) challenge that artistic expression at the KKNK presented to public morality in fact became a frequent factor for prominent selection in *Die Burger* in the 1990s. One of the few times in the decade that arts and culture news was presented as a lead article on the front page occurred in 1997 when the festival management considered the banning of reportedly offensive art works (see DB, 1997/04/02:1). As the discussion in 5.2.2 above indicated, the general positioning of both the editor and arts desk in the 1990s was against the censorship of the arts. In spite of (or because of) that stance, the newspaper often created conflict between well-known artists and the public through the sensational reporting of artistic events that arguably would have gone relatively unnoticed otherwise.

5.5.1.4 High arts/restructuring

The arts and culture coverage on the front page of *Die Burger* in the 1990s was dominated in many respects by the circulation of a consistent oppositional discourse to moves and suggestions of proponents of the fundamental restructuring of the South African so-called high arts and culture dispensation. For *Die Burger*, the fate of the state funded regional arts council, Capab, situated at the controversial Nico Malan theatre centre in Cape Town, became the focal point of hegemonic struggles around an artistic vision in the new South Africa. It is safe to say that much of the discourses in *Die Burger* centred on the perceived threat to Western (high) art, including the visual (fine) arts and performing arts traditions such as opera, ballet, and classical which were often equated with so-called universal civilised values.

As the discussion in 5.1 above has indicated, *Die Burger* thus often presented the crisis as a challenge to Western civilisation. In an interview (see Chapter 6) Hendrik Coetzee, news editor in the 1990s, confirmed the impression that coverage was often selected to the front page specifically to highlight the extent of the perceived crisis.

5.5.1.5 Celebrity/high arts

Recognised (Afrikaans) celebrity was a strong factor in the selection of arts and culture news on the front page of *Die Burger*. Especially the announcement of traditionally the most esteemed Afrikaans literary award, the Hertzog book prize, to writers such as Breyten Breytenbach (see DB, 1999/09/18:1) and Chris Barnard (see DB, 1991/04/20:1), received regular front page coverage.

But, even without Afrikaans, high arts and celebrity could still be a combination strong enough to warrant attention and news selection. When Nadine Gordimer, who was particularly vocal as an anti-apartheid (and some alleged also anti-Afrikaner) activist, became the first South African to win the Nobel prize for literature in 1991, the newspaper also reported it prominently (DB, 1991/10/04:1).

Similarly, when the legendary Russian born ballet star Mikhail Barysnikov visited South Africa in 1992, *Die Burger* reported that the "1204" tickets for his performance in Cape Town "sold out in 7 minutes" (DB, 1992/06/18:1). In 1996 the newspaper also presented a report of a performance by visiting Italian tenor Luciano Pavarotti in front of 27 000 people in Stellenbosch on its front page (DB, 1996/01/08:1).

Ironically, the overwhelming popular reaction to the (somewhat belated) visit to South Africa of the latter two aging artists can be seen as a sign of the predicament of supporters of Western high culture in the 1990s, including some arts journalists at *Die Burger*. Both artists eventually performed in a context more in keeping with pop culture than with the exclusive domain(s) to which they first owed their fame. Additionally, neither classic ballet nor opera received similar attention (or support) from both *Die Burger* and its readers in that period.

5.5.1.6 Celebrity/entertainment

Popularity and entertainment remained constant factors in the selection of entertainment/cultural news for front page coverage in *Die Burger*. News about popular American and British music as well as television and film stars was often presented prominently, especially if a South African connection could be drawn (see DB, 1997/10/03:1; DB, 1994/09/28:1; DB, 1996/05/04:1). At the same time, the most popular Afrikaans artists, singers, and musicians were often also used to promote the sale of the newspaper (see DB, 1992/02/07:1b; DB, 1992/01/28:1).

5.5.2 Arts and culture page

The 1990s represented a period of significant restructuring at the arts desk of *Die Burger*. The process coincided with, and was apparently driven by, the cultural vision of Johann Botha whose main areas of expertise included (Afrikaans) literature and nature conservation (see Habitus, section 5.1.4). By extending the scope of the cultural coverage in *Die Burger* to environmental issues as well, Botha was not only combining his personal interests; he was in fact anticipating the Green movement of the 21st century (see DB, 1991/01/03:1; DB, 1991/01/03:6; DB, 1991/01/04:4). For the presentation of content, Botha created an overarching page strap line prefix "Joernaal" (Journal) but in practice specialised coverage was still published separately on pages labelled "Joernaal: Kuns en Vermaak" (Journal: Arts and Entertainment), "Joernaal: Boeke" (Journal: Books) and "Joernaal: Omgewing" (Journal: Environment) respectively.

As part of the process the entertainment supplement "Naweek-Joernaal" (Weekend Journal) was created (see DB, 1992/02/06:4). The tabloid format supplement appeared on Fridays and focussed in the main on popular culture. It was the only day of the week that no arts and entertainment page appeared in the main body of the newspaper. This move in effect formalised the traditional division between so-called serious (high) arts and culture coverage and the coverage of popular/low arts and entertainment. Until 1991 arts editors strived for an uneasy balance between the two on the daily arts and entertainment pages, but thereafter the split was structurally enforced far more strictly. This does not mean that no coverage of popular culture occurred on the daily arts pages any longer, but that comparatively little high arts coverage occurred in Naweek-Joernaal. In fact, by 1993 the "Joernaal" prefix had again disappeared from the strap line of the arts page in the main body. This emphasised not only that the so-called high arts were now structurally excluded from the weekend entertainment supplement, but also that the effort to integrate arts and culture/entertainment and environmental issues had not materialised in practice.

For some members of the arts page, even well-argued protest against what they perceived as increasing pop culture shallowness was often belied by the fact that it was presented on arts pages that in total reflected the growing importance of popular culture and electronic media (see for example the arts page [p.4] of the edition of 7 April 1990). The tension between so-

called art movies and mainstream, mostly Hollywood, productions manifested in *Die Burger* in the day-to-day coverage of the latter while the former received attention around specific art movie festivals only (see page 12 in the edition of 27 April 1990).

Discursive framing was also the result of word choice, including in headline writing. In a movie review of *Ipi Tombi -- An explosion of joy*,[xxxiii] Emile Joubert mentioned that a "true African feeling" was created by the "use of nature, the colourful ceremonies of the Zulus and life in the shebeens" (DB, 1990/10/4:8). Despite the overall positive evaluation of the movie, the review was unfortunately framed by the headline. In writing the headline the sub-editor chose "Smokkelkroeë gee die Afrika-gevoel" [Shebeens give the African feeling]. It can be regarded as innocent humor, but the headline also arguably strengthened a negative stereotype of African cultural life.

5.5.3 Cartoons

Editorial comment on the arts in the form of cartoons in *Die Burger* was not frequent, and it most often dealt with the perceived crisis due to the restructuring of the official dispensation in the 1990s. A typical example was the looming financial crisis at Capab as addressed in a cartoon by Fred Mouton (see DB, 1990/11/30:20). It showed a traditional (Western) theatre symbol, the two masks of comedy and tragedy, but in this case both were crying in a desert. The caption read: "Maar daar is niks meer om oor te lag nie" [But there is nothing left to laugh about]. In the cartoon a broken jar (the Afrikaans word is "kruik" that is also the Afrikaans acronym for Capab) was illustrated with the words "swak bywoning" [bad attendance], and a departing camel carried the words "staatshulp vir kunsterade" [state support for the arts]. The cartoon clearly implied that Capab and the Western performing arts were struggling to survive in threatening conditions -- the new official dispensation.

In another typical cartoon the controversial writer André P. Brink was targeted in response to his reported criticism of the Cultural Desk of the ANC. The cartoon (DB, 1993/06/16:10c) depicted the Cultural Desk as a person who had his foot on Brink's neck. The caption read: "Comrades, I thought that you would bring liberation to all of us!" Next to the cartoon was an editorial (DB, 1993/06/16:10a -- "Die skille val af" [The blinkers are off]) which referred to comments by Brink that he was worried about "dictatorial tendencies" in the ANC which wanted to "misuse culture in an effort to gain power". As discussed in 5.1.3.3, the editorial

regarded it as "particularly significant" that it was somebody like Brink "who was now running scared of what may happen on the terrain of culture under an ANC-regime" (*ibid.*).

5.6 Summary

This chapter was structured around suggestions by Van Dijk (1998:61- 63) as part of his critical discourse analysis approach for analysing "opinions and ideologies in the press" (see Chapter 4). The aim was to track and discuss shifting cultural discourses in the content of *Die Burger* (1990-1999).

In the first section, the context of discourse (some of the fundamental changes that occurred in society between 1990 and 1999 as they were reported in *Die Burger*) was considered. In the political field the discussion identified the relationship between *Die Burger* and the NP and Afrikaner identity and the TRC and communism respectively as main discursive areas. It would seem that while the newspaper maintained its close relationship with the faltering NP in support of Afrikaner interests and identity for most of the decade, it also developed oppositional discourses to the new ANC-led government alliance and its political agenda, especially the formation and performance of the TRC. A central discursive strategy was the use of the relationship between the ANC and the SACP to discredit the post-apartheid political dispensation. At the end of the decade, *Die Burger* was seemingly disillusioned by what it perceived as a general vindictive stance towards Afrikaners and a lack of strong leadership from amongst Afrikaners. Because the newspaper was at the same time positioning itself against blatantly racist right-wing discourses arguing for the resurrection of apartheid, it was also trying to broaden its definition of Afrikaners to include previously rejected so-called coloured Afrikaans speakers.

Despite a significant loss in political capital tied to the NP, *Die Burger* reported economic success in the course of the decade as its circulation figure reached new heights in comparison with its mainstream rivals in the Western Cape. This study suggests that this measure of market success was at least in part due to the combination of an arguably conservative (reactionary) political stance and the maintenance and development of its economic relationships to both existing and new brokers of power in its political economy.

Some of the dominant discourses in reaction to changes in the cultural field of the newspaper reflected those in the political field as well. Through cultural coverage, *Die Burger* campaigned strategically for political ends on behalf of the NP -- for example in opposition to the cultural boycott supported by the ANC and to obtain a positive outcome in the whites-only referendum at the beginning of the decade (against the blatantly racist right wing).

In reaction to the so-called Africanisation of society, the newspaper often adopted an antagonistic stance towards efforts to change official structures and symbols. The focal point of coverage was the perceived threat to the Western high arts tradition. In terms of Afrikaans/Afrikaner culture *Die Burger* identified the ANC-SACP as an enemy of Afrikaans and proceeded to construct and circulate discourses in which metaphors of battle dominated. The newspaper also became actively involved in campaigns to drum up financial support for the language while its historic relationship with Dutch was frequently strategically emphasised.

The final discussion in this first section considered how the habitus of key individual agents in arts journalism at *Die Burger* influenced the structuring of discourses. It was argued that the personal and professional trajectories of and relationships between, amongst others, Ebbe Dommisse, Johann Botha, and Wilhelm Grütter played a significant role in their discursive positioning, as well as in the selection of copy for publication.

Secondly, the discussion turned to hegemonic struggles between arts journalists and other role players at the newspaper and in society. The analysis firstly centered on a comparison of the discourses circulated by the arts desk and the political desk respectively. Examples of some conflict between arts journalists and political journalists were listed -- especially with regard to the TRC and the re-evaluation of the role played by Afrikaners during apartheid. But the predominant impression was that there was still little to no difference between the discursive positioning of the two editorial groups on fundamental political and cultural issues. Both were for example clearly against censorship in general and the specific cultural boycott supported by the ANC while Afrikaans culture, including language, enjoyed the often unqualified support of arts and political journalists. Although more nuanced debates on these issues were often presented on arts pages, the overall framing through selection and presentation in the main suggested and reflected official editorial policy (as expressed by editorials and columns by the editor).

The third stage of presentation centered on strategies of labeling and division which arts journalists employed. In illustration of this tendency the discussion used the so-called high/low art debate, which was complicated in the 1990s with the legacy of different discourses. Firstly, there were the discourses of colonialism and apartheid (in which so-called indigenous African traditions were often equated with lower forms) followed by a post-apartheid/post-colonial discourse (in which African nationalists such as Thabo Mbeki attempted to revive and elevate a perceived indigenous tradition to the status of Western high art). For arts journalists at *Die Burger* this meant a complicated and often contradictory discursive positioning. African productions were often on the one hand associated with (natural) talent, energy, enthusiasm, warmth and humanity, variety and inclusivity but also with naivety, a lowering of (Western) standards and expectations, a lack of training and discipline and childlike political subservience to a "new" ideology. Although African arts, culture, and traditions were presented as a new breeze in especially the fine art world, it was kept firmly within the domain of the exotic. In other words, by the end of the 1990s the traditional dichotomy between white (Western) elite and black (African) popular was still operational in arts coverage of *Die Burger* -- and arguably also in the South African art world.

Fourthly, this chapter dealt with main discourses that developed in arts and culture coverage in the 1990s. A CDA of the decade indicates that at least four main discourses -- protest, reconciliation, crisis, and education -- were developed and/or circulated by arts journalists. These were often both overlapping and contradictory -- for example where Africanisation was addressed as alternatively a discourse of crisis, a discourse of reconciliation, and a discourse of education. Arts journalists were seemingly eager to replace apartheid as a discursive marker in the discourse of protest, amongst others by references to postmodern identity politics in the context of a post-colonial society.

The fifth and last stage of the presentation of findings focused on discursive strategies in the selection and representation of arts and culture coverage in the newspaper during that period. Both front page and arts page coverage were considered, and a number of discursive categories developed. Findings were that arts and culture news were often selected for prominent coverage on news pages when they included the following as discursive markers: promotion of company interests (such as sponsored events, particularly the KKNK festival

organised around Afrikaans culture); the post-apartheid restructuring of the so-called high arts dispensation; and celebrity, either involving conflict, the so-called high arts and/or popular entertainment.

The chapter then provided a brief overview of main organisational changes to arts pages presentation and lay-out during the decade and concluded with a typical example of one of a small number of editorial cartoons about arts and culture in the period 1990-1999. It dealt with the perceived threat of a new Africanised arts and culture dispensation to the Western high arts heritage.

As was outlined in Chapter 4, the Van Dijk model of CDA, interpreted, adapted, and adjusted in this chapter, formed the basis of the semi-structured interviews with arts journalists in two ways. Firstly, the findings of Chapter 5 were used to formulate a list of interview questions (see Addendum C). Secondly, the findings from interviews were analysed and presented by using the same categories suggested by the Van Dijk model in Chapter 5. In this way the interview findings, which will be presented in Chapter 6, arguably enable much more insight into the CDA findings and will provide arts journalists with the opportunity to respond directly to conclusions based on the textual analysis.

Chapter 6: Interview-analysis and discussion

This chapter will present and discuss findings gathered from semi-structured, in-depth interviews with former and current editorial staff members of *Die Burger* and a senior Naspers manager. As was indicated at the end of Chapter 5, the discussion is structured by a model suggested by Van Dijk (1998:61–63) for analysing "opinions and ideologies in the press" which were already utilized for a textual analysis of newspaper copy (1990-1999).

According to this framework, interview data was examined for corresponding and divergent views about (a) the context of discourse of arts journalism in the 1990s; (b) power relations and conflicts between arts journalists and other stake holders; (c) strategies of labelling and division in which cultural hierarchies were sustained and/or challenged; (d) recurrent themes, topics and strategies in debates and opinions about arts and culture in the 1990s; (e) and factors involved in the selection and processing of content for coverage on front and arts pages. The analysis was informed by a search for discursive markers, themes, and strategies that are indicative of power relations in and around arts journalism at the newspaper during that period. At the same time the researcher looked for points of agreement and diversion between findings from the textual analysis and the views of respondents.

The methodology for the interviews was described in Chapter 4. To summarise: Face-to-face, semi-structured, in-depth interviews (lasting on average more than one hour each) were conducted with the following 14 individuals in turn in the course of 2010: Ton Vosloo, chairman of the board of directors of Naspers; Ebbe Dommisse, former editor of *Die Burger*; Hendrik Coetzee, former news editor of *Die Burger*; Kerneels Breytenbach and Johann Botha, former arts editors of *Die Burger*; André le Roux, Emile Joubert, Egbert de Waal, Cobus van Bosch and Herman Wasserman, former members of the arts desk of *Die Burger*; and Koos Human, Joan Hambidge and Melvyn Minnaar, regular freelance contributors to the arts desk of *Die Burger*. Zirk van den Berg, fine arts specialist, was contacted by e-mail in New Zealand and responded to the interview questionnaire in writing. These respondents arguably represent the major role players in both the broader context of policy formulation and planning as well as the various practical production processes of arts journalism at the newspaper in the decade under discussion.

Nita Hazell, TV writer, briefly replied to an email request to participate in the study and commented that she is "honoured to be included in the list of respondents because she did not really regard herself as a member of the arts desk". Although Hazell never returned the interview questionnaire, her initial reply is considered informative for the purposes of this study (see discussion at the end of this chapter). Gawie Keyser, the Dutch correspondent of *Die Burger* during the 1990s, also did not deliver a completed interview questionnaire. Still, his influential role in keeping the relationship between Afrikaans and Dutch on the agenda of readers of *Die Burger* during the decade was described in some detail in the section on "Habitus" in Chapter 5.

As has already been indicated, the discussion here was structured in order to respond more or less directly to findings from CDA texts presented in Chapter 5, which meant that the same broad division into five categories occurred. Some differences between the sub-headings of the two chapters also emerged because the interview findings did not correspond or respond to the textual findings on precisely every point.

6.1 Context of discourse

The following discussion locates the discourse about arts journalism at *Die Burger* within the political, economic, and cultural contexts of the 1990s. Firstly, the views of interview respondents on the political positioning of *Die Burger* (1990-1999) will be presented by employing the following categories which emerged from the CDA in Chapter 5: *Die Burger* and the NP, *Die Burger* and the TRC, and *Die Burger* and communism. Secondly, the commercialisation of Naspers will be addressed in the discussion of the economic context of arts journalism at *Die Burger*. In the third section, the cultural context of discourse, the issues of censorship, boycotts, and language will be addressed from the points of view of respondents. Fourthly, the discussion centres on the habitus of individual arts journalists as it emerged from interview data.

6.1.1 Political field

As Chapter 5 indicated, the political positioning of *Die Burger* towards the National Party (NP) was strongly influenced by the traditional alliance between that party and the mother company of *Die Burger*, Naspers. Various respondents referred to administrative practices at

Naspers that were aimed at ensuring company support for the NP. Vosloo (2010) described how a board oversight committee of Naspers was tasked with the allocation of available shares only to "good Nationalists" in the decades before the company was officially listed on the JSE (in the early 1990s). For decades new Naspers employees also had to declare their support for the "broad national aims" of the company in writing when joining the company (Vosloo, 2010; Dommisse, 2010; Le Roux, 2010).

However, Vosloo (2010) claimed that personal political affiliations were by 1990 (and even earlier) no longer a factor during the appointment process of new employees, or in their performance evaluation thereafter. Exactly if, why, and when more space for different political views developed at Naspers does not form part of this study but according to Vosloo (2010) his appointment as CEO in 1983 signaled the start of a new era at the company:

> I started preparing the way for change already in 1983...that is maybe my biggest achievement...that Naspers could turn around to become a modern concern which was positively positioned towards changes in the country. Also that we succeeded in taking the Afrikaner along during that big referendum [in 1992 -- GJB] and then to the election in 1994...I think we managed the transformation well.[xxxiv]

While the company seemed to move further away from publically supporting the NP, it allowed/created space for *Die Burger* to remain close to the NP. To be more precise, the board of directors of Naspers appointed a politically conservative editor, Ebbe Dommisse, at *Die Burger* in 1990. One can therefore safely argue that while Naspers was realigning its economic and cultural capital in a new dispensation, it was not yet prepared to divest its political capital with the NP completely.

6.1.1.1 *Die Burger* and the NP

As the textual analysis in Chapter 5 indicated, *Die Burger* remained a staunch supporter of the NP for most of the decade while under the editorship of Ebbe Dommisse (1990-1999). In an interview conducted for this study, Ton Vosloo (2010), chairman of the Naspers board, suggested through his demeanour and the tone and nature of his responses that he did not quite share Dommisse's enthusiastic support for the NP for the duration of the 1990s.

Although that does not necessarily mean that Vosloo did not support the NP at all for at least the early part of the decade (see for example DB, 1991/05/04:13 in which Vosloo refers supportively to President F.W. de Klerk regarding the "crisis" facing Afrikaners and Afrikaans in the "new" South Africa), the question still remains: Why was Dommisse then allowed to remain editor of *Die Burger* for the duration of the decade?

Vosloo (2010) implied that as a loyal member of the company for decades, Dommisse had earned respect from the board of directors and with that the right and freedom to maintain his support for the NP because "we [Naspers] supported the National Party and did not make it a secret". Vosloo (2010) also stressed the "autonomy" of each newspaper in the Naspers stable in terms of its separate "budget, management and editor". But in the course of his tenure (first as CEO and later chairman of the board), Naspers did develop a "credo" which declared support for "freedom of expression, freedom before the law, a free economic system, and the constitution" (Vosloo, 2010). Newspaper editors were thus free to support any political party who adhered to these principles (*ibid.*).

In practice it probably meant that editors could support any party except the ANC. Although the ANC (admittedly surprisingly for many critics and supporters) ended up institutionalising a free-market system after 1994, its socialists policies in the past and continued alliance with the SACP remained the source of suspicion for newspapers like *Die Burger* in the 1990s.

Dommisse (2010) argued that his support for the NP in the 1994 elections was well justified because "it would have been wrong to drop the party who initiated change" at that stage. In the election of 1999, he called for a strong opposition to the ANC, because "we were already in...a one-party dominant state..." (*ibid.*). Dommisse (2010) argues that in an "African context...democracy means the winner is the big boss and takes all". He therefore decided to ask readers to oppose the ANC -- "a little negative, of course, but what was the alternative?" (Dommisse, 2010).

Although both Vosloo (2010) and Dommisse (2010) suggested that *Die Burger* was "unashamedly" a supporter of the NP, both also emphasised the fact that it was Dommisse who formally requested that the NP in the Cape Province not re-appoint *Die Burger* as their official mouthpiece at its congress in 1990 (as has been the tradition for many decades). This seeming contradiction could be explained by a popular company dictum reportedly

formulated by renowned Naspers newspaper editor Schalk Pienaar -- "independence in bondedness" [in Afrikaans: onafhanklikheid in gebondenheid] (Vosloo, 2010). In this way some journalists at Naspers probably tried to resolve the rising tension between their diverging roles as members of the partisan press and an idealised professional community when journalism became professionalised at the company in the course of the 20th century.

Whatever the case, it would seem that even Dommisse, as a staunch NP supporter, felt uneasy with the tag as official mouthpiece of the party when he assumed the editorship of *Die Burger* in 1990. On the other hand, it would also seem that not being appointed the official mouthpiece of the NP did not lead to *Die Burger* distancing itself from the party until very late in the decade -- when the NP was on the brink of dismantling. Dommisse then followed many former NP members who jumped ship by shifting the official support of *Die Burger* to the Democratic Alliance (DA) of Tony Leon (Vosloo, 2010).

Various respondents indicated that support for the NP was not a factor any more in the appointment and promotion of at least some lower-level editorial staff members at *Die Burger* by the 1990s. But a former member of the political desk and news editor in the 1990s, Hendrik Coetzee (2010), felt that members of the political desk still had to "follow the party line". It was also common knowledge, according to Botha (2010), that in the 1990s the path of promotion to senior editorial positions -- such as assistant-editor and editor -- still went through the political desk. (The positioning of members of the arts desk towards the NP will be discussed below.)

Coetzee (2010) was unambiguous in his view that as both political writer and news editor he remained acutely aware that the NP had to be supported in both news selection and processing on a daily basis. At times political reporters had to rewrite copy if the political editor felt that the NP did not get its due support (or the opposition its due criticism), Coetzee (2010) said. As news editor, Coetzee (2010) claims to have tried to

> be as neutral as possible towards all parties...to go strictly according to news values. If the Progs [Progressive Party] did something well, then we had to give them the necessary recognition in our news columns and so forth -- the same with the National Party and the other parties. It did not always work out that way because the editor and political reporters still wanted the National

> Party to get the lion's share of the news. But one had to live with that and try to see how you could get at the news...

In contrast to what one would probably expect, Coetzee (2010) claimed that "some of the younger members" of the political desk of *Die Burger* "did not agree with National Party policy". He continued (*ibid.*):

> Alf Ries, Ebbe Dommisse, those people...they followed the party line, but there were some of the younger people who did not agree -- I am thinking of Charles Naude, even Theuns van der Westhuizen did not always agree. So the younger guys experienced it as sort of liberating when it was not policy any longer to put the National Party above everything else [presumably only by the end of the 1990s -- GJB].

Though not at issue in this study, the existence of some form of opposition to the NP within the political desk of *Die Burger* may find an interesting parallel with the positioning of some arts journalists at the newspaper in the 1990s (see discussion below). But still, all those who may have harboured oppositional sentiments had to make a simple choice -- as articulated by Coetzee (2010):

> You had to decide if you could live with it [explicit editorial support for the NP and resultant instances of editorial interference -- GJB] or if you were going to pack up your bags and go…

It is safe to say that not everyone who disagreed went elsewhere, but still editorial members such as Coetzee (2010) refused to consider that *Die Burger* may have lost its editorial integrity in the process. He firstly drew a fine distinction between the "propaganda" of editorials and political columns -- such as the famous longstanding one by "Dawie" (usually written by the editor himself) -- and the "framing" and "under-emphasis of the opposition" that took place in political writing on the news pages (Coetzee, 2010). In addition, he argued, the general news coverage of *Die Burger* was of the highest professional journalistic quality and standard (*ibid.*).

Thus the split between "opinion" and "fact", the positivist understanding of news reporting that forms part of a specific understanding of "professional" values, allows Coetzee to claim that he was "professional" in his "balanced" reporting even if the opinion pieces by Dawie *et al* were "propagandistic". It seemingly also had a psychological function -- to help journalists at *Die Burger* keep an idealised self-image of professionalism intact. In terms of the theory of habitus (see Chapter 2), it is probable that the reconciliation of the contradiction between "balanced reporting" and "propaganda" became part of the process of acculturation for journalists at *Die Burger* and Naspers.

6.1.1.2 *Die Burger* and the TRC

While Ton Vosloo and Ebbe Dommisse might not have harboured equal enthusiasm for the NP throughout the 1990s, the two leaders seemingly agreed on the positioning of Naspers (and *Die Burger*) towards the TRC. Chapter 5 has already touched on conflict between Dommisse and three members of the arts desk of *Die Burger* who signed the letter of apology to the TRC (this issue will be addressed in more detail below).

According to Vosloo (2010), he had the support of the board of directors in his decision not to take part in the TRC process (which would entail testifying in front of the Commission) -- other than the submission of two volumes of official company history. Vosloo (2010) stated:

> They [the TRC] wanted me to go and make excuses and confess, and I just said that I would not disown my past. Everybody knew what the political positioning of Nasionale Pers was. I already started preparing the way for the coming changes in 1983...

Dommisse (2010) summarised his objection to the TRC in hindsight as follows:

> Inkatha was not there, neither was the National Party...evidence was untested, the way in which it was conducted...the morality-preaching, praying affair...It was certainly important that the stories were told, but the TRC was certainly loaded [in favour of the ANC].

Vosloo apparently still felt aggrieved by the fact that some younger journalists, including at least one senior newspaper editor, did not share his (and Dommisse's) objection to the TRC. Part of the problem as far as Vosloo (2010) was concerned, was that a letter of apology that was submitted to the TRC was signed by over 100 journalists in their professional capacity -- thus as staff members of Naspers and not as individuals, as he would have preferred.

Vosloo (2010) remembered:

> Some of our younger journalists seriously took issue with us [and submitted a letter of apology to the TRC -- GJB] -- Tim du Plessis was the leader...at *Beeld*...We never took revenge on them -- we did not victimise them and you will see that after that all the guys who endorsed that thing [the letter to the TRC]...were promoted. We were big enough to say -- OK that is your thing.... [Although] at one stage I told them...if you are as fed up with Naspers as you claim to be, go ahead and sell your shares. Nobody did...

Although Dommisse (2010) could not be drawn into a discussion about his personal feelings around the issue at that time, Coetzee (2010) suggested that the editor shared much of the sentiments aired by Vosloo (2010) above. Coetzee (2010) stated:

> Dommisse felt that the guys who signed that petition betrayed him and *Die Burger*…the people signed as editorial staff members of *Die Burger*...and that angered him [Dommisse]. If they had signed in their personal capacity -- without indicating any relationship to *Die Burger* -- I think he would have reacted less severely...

In other words: Their most serious transgression was that they broke ranks.

6.1.1.3 *Die Burger* and communism

Coetzee (2010) confirmed the impression (see Chapter 5) that *Die Burger* used the threat of communism to discredit the ANC by always referring to the "ANC-Communist Alliance" in editorial copy. Coetzee (2010) states:

> It was a strategy -- look the communists in those days were the big spider that was watching you -- they [the political desk of *Die Burger*] never referred to the 'ANC-Cosatu[xxxv] Alliance'...they used it to scare people...

This strategy is similar to the role ascribed to anti-communism as one of the five filters of the propaganda-model of Herman & Chomsky (1994) used by American media in their coverage of international news during the Cold War.

Vosloo (2010) also remarked on the consistent negative framing of the ANC by Dommisse in the 1990s:

> He [Dommisse] wrote until the bitter end and he will still write today about the ANC-Communist Alliance...always hyphenated -- one concept which says that the ANC is really communist.

Dommisse (2010) indeed remained unapologetic about this particular framing device and repeated his often expressed question of the 1990s: "why does the Communist Party not stand alone?" He also denied that *Die Burger's* consistent reference to communism to discredit the ANC nearly backfired at the start of CODESA (the formal negotiation forum between the NP and liberation movements in the 1990s) when some readers reacted with hostility on the letters page to a picture of friendly exchange between members of the NP and the SACP (see DB, 1991/12/05:18). Dommisse (2010) replied:

> I visited many communist countries...it is the biggest mess...I think it is a very dangerous ideology...basically a dictatorial ideology...it started as an economic model, and it is on that terrain that it failed the most. It is also an ideology with universal pretences -- maybe *Die Burger* did not scare them [its readers] well enough...

Dommisse (2010) admitted that he did not expect the ANC to adopt a free market system in the 1990s (but warned that "socialist ideas were coming to the fore yet again"). More to the point in this study, however, is whether the positioning of *Die Burger* towards communism influenced arts journalism at the paper in any way.

Some arts journalists (see Van den Berg, 2010) stated that they never bought into the anti-communism propaganda of the NP (as articulated by, amongst others, *Die Burger*). Other respondents (see Van Bosch, 2010) felt, however -- at least with regard to issues such as the prospect of continued censorship of the arts and the use of art for propaganda purposes --, suspicious of the ANC due to its association with the SACP. The ANC's strategy to support an international cultural boycott against the apartheid state arguably strengthened the fear that so-called universal artistic values and artefacts would not be free from political control and interference in a new dispensation (see discussions below on the arts and censorship and the perception of arts journalists about the role of the arts in society).

It is thus conceivable that the relentless bombardment of anti-communist rhetoric in *Die Burger* contributed to scepticism amongst arts journalists about the so-called Africanisation of the arts under a government in which the "ANC-Communists Alliance" had control. This is not to suggest that arts journalists were the powerless victims of the propaganda of their own newspaper. As part of a greater society in which communism was discursively contested on different platforms, arts journalists were potentially influenced by more than one source. It is also not possible to indicate causal links between the newspaper's political views and those of the individual journalists or describe the weight of that one source in relation to a host of other potential sources. But still, as Chapter 5 indicated, on the political issue of the cultural boycott supported by the ANC the views of some senior arts journalists and the official editorial standpoint of *Die Burger* -- often relayed to the threat of communist tyranny -- were in close proximity.

6.1.2 Economic field

This section presents changes to and influences of the economic context of *Die Burger* from the perspective of respondents. One of the major contextual factors was arguably the positioning of its parent company, Naspers. Maybe the most frequent accusation levelled at Naspers since the late 1980s was that the company shifted from "idealism" to "commercialism" (see Muller, 1990; Froneman, 2004; Botma 2006a). This issue will be addressed in detail in this section. The discussion will firstly focus on the unprecedented economic success of *Die Burger* during that period and then consider the restructuring and redesign of the newspaper as a possible contributing factor.

In Chapter 5, examples were cited of Afrikaans intellectuals and writers who blamed Naspers for its alleged desertion of its (self-appointed) role as champion of Afrikaans/Afrikaner (predominately high) culture in exchange for so-called bottom-line results. Chapter 5 also supported the view that commercial pressures increased on arts journalists at *Die Burger* in the 1990s in response to the rise of Naspers sponsored events, such as Afrikaans (predominantly popular) arts and culture festivals. (The complicating factor of high and popular arts and culture will be addressed separately below.)

The chairman of the board of directors of Naspers, Ton Vosloo (2010), did not deny that a shift to commercialism occurred at the company. He did, however, disagree with the view that Naspers intentionally discarded idealism, which may in a narrow sense be seen as code for white Afrikaner nationalism but can also more generally be regarded as a commitment to non-commercial cultural, artistic and humanistic values. Vosloo's qualification may be seen as moot, but his explanation is nonetheless noteworthy.

Vosloo (2010) argued that the company became embroiled in a fight for its economic survival since the introduction of SABC television in 1976 caused an accelerated drop in advertising revenue for the print industry. In response, Naspers and other affected newspaper owners in South Africa formed a pay-television consortium that was awarded a broadcasting licence to start M-Net in 1986. In this endeavour, the entrepreneurial vision of Koos Bekker, currently the CEO of Naspers, and the managerial skills and political (NP) connections of Vosloo, then the CEO, were of vital importance (Vosloo, 2010).

Somewhat surprisingly, Vosloo (2010) admitted that the founding of M-Net might have been a case of "being too clever by half". It not only saved Naspers financially -- it in fact propelled the company into the 21st century as an international media conglomerate -- but the move to electronic media also contributed to the "superficialization of culture" and "a drift away from idealism" (Vosloo, 2010). He continued (*ibid.*):

> ...out of necessity we drifted away from the old idealism, but is was based on survival...the moment you get onto that wagon...if you look at the carpet on which Naspers rides at the moment -- the magic carpet -- the growth does not occur in the print media -- so thank God we made that shift...more than 60% of our income now derives from electronic media...

On a textual level, it is interesting that Vosloo used the familiar image of a wagon for the moment of departure of Naspers from its traditional Afrikaner print media culture roots but then switched directly to the arguably culturally foreign literary image of the magic[xxxvi] carpet ride to describe its international flight to popular electronic media culture success.

Still, Vosloo (2010) maintained that Naspers remained committed to promoting "good" literature and "serious" (Western high art) music in various projects. The big difference was that the company no longer felt itself exclusively tied to Afrikaans/Afrikaner culture (*ibid.)*.

Similarly, some, but not all, commercial pressures transferred to *Die Burger* in the 1990s were tied to the promotion of Afrikaans. As Chapter 5 indicated, the newspaper was also involved in the coverage and promotion of English cultural offerings -- not only from M-Net and other Naspers affiliates -- but in general as part of a broad editorial focus. But notwithstanding the clear shift to commercialism at *Die Burger* as well, it was probably the one newspaper in the Naspers stable which remained closest to the traditional political and cultural core values of Naspers in the 1990s (Vosloo, 2010).

In the discussion above the question was raised why Dommisse -- whose conservative political views were seemingly somewhat at odds with the broad strategic direction of Naspers -- remained the editor of *Die Burger* for the whole of the 1990s. An answer was suggested: That his appointment was part of a strategy to protect the political capital that the company had invested in its long association with the NP. But one can argue in turn that after 1994 that investment became relatively powerless and that Dommisse's political role had been largely played out. It is true that Dommisse's furious opposition to the TRC was directly aligned with the official company view. From this perspective Dommisse thus helped to protect not only conservative Afrikaner interests in general, but more specifically the interests of Naspers. But that discursive struggle occurred relatively late in the decade, and the management of Naspers could not have foreseen the complex dynamics within the company (that is that some of the younger staff members would ignore the company line).

Naspers could also have regarded Dommisse as a valuable asset in the protection of the company's cultural and economic interests in Afrikaans. Although the possibility that Afrikaans may have lost its official status was already averted by 1994, the cultural-economic

advancement of Afrikaans became a powerful strategic tool for Naspers for the rest of the decade (and beyond) (See Botma, 2006a). But it is questionable whether the company needed Dommisse in person to carry the torch for Afrikaans in the press -- as respondents to this study confirmed virtually unanimously, vocal partisanship for Afrikaans seemingly became part of the habitus of most Afrikaans journalists. It was thus noticeable that the Afrikaans language debate in *Die Burger* did not disappear after Dommisse departed in early 2000 (see Botma, 2006a; Louw, 2003).

Thus, Dommisse's longevity as editor may be ascribed to even more pure economics -- *Die Burger* was commercially very successful in the 1990s. Amongst the change and uncertainty that was characteristic of that decade, *Die Burger* achieved unprecedented success in terms of circulation growth -- especially towards the end of the decade (see Chapter 5). According to Dommisse (2010) it was the result of a "team effort":

> I think it was the combination of different factors -- more space, more value for money. We had excellent editorial staff -- in different departments...good cooperation between editorial, circulation, advertising...

Dommisse (2010) remembered that before he took office, the editorial-advertising ratio was 40-60. He switched it around, which meant more editorial space became available. The additional editorial space was utilised in part for the creation of tabloid-size supplements which were distributed along with the main body. This led in time to the establishment of the entertainment supplement *Naweek-Joernaal* by the arts desk, as well as the outdoor/environmental supplement *Buite-Burger* under the editorship of Johann Botha -- the arts editor who had a personal interest in environmental journalism.

Thus, significantly for this study, the establishment of *Naweek-Joernaal* took place in a greater context centred around the restructuring of the newspaper in various ways. In Chapter 5 the issue was raised whether *Naweek-Joernaal* represented a more formal split between the so-called popular and high art presentation of the daily arts page. It might still be the case, but it would be misleading to ascribe the development as a result of the agency of, for instance, Botha as arts editor, alone. This example again illustrates the fact that textual analysis without cognition of the production context might be misleading.

6.1.3 Cultural field

The following discussion of interview findings on the cultural context of arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) will be structured by referring to the views of respondents regarding censorship, the international cultural boycott supported by the ANC during the early part of the decade, and the role of language -- particularly Afrikaans.

6.1.3.1 Censorship

During apartheid, Naspers often appointed senior members of the NP to their board of directors. This especially led to tension when the publishing divisions of the company produced books which ran foul of government censors: For example the Etienne Leroux novel *Magersfontein o Magersfontein* that was published by Human & Rousseau in 1976 and banned in 1977. However, in Vosloo's (2010) version of events the majority of board members were quite "enlightened" and conservative pressures were "easily countered".

Vosloo (2010) recounted one noticeable skirmish in the 1980s when a particular board member seriously objected to the fact that a Naspers publisher was involved in an "indecent" book by the Afrikaans author Koos Prinsloo. Prinsloo became notorious amongst conservative Afrikaners because of his explicit references to gay sex and irreverence towards NP leaders such as P.W. Botha (see Beukes & Steyn, 1992). The challenge to take action against the publisher or book was averted, and, according to Vosloo (2010), his handling of this incident firmly entrenched the principle of autonomy for editors and publishers of Naspers affiliates. He stated (*ibid*.):

> We [the board of Naspers] were actually against censorship and we came out on the side of the writers, like the court case we took up to the appellate division about *Magersfontein [o Magersfontein!]* by [Etienne] Leroux...We always were against the censorship of Afrikaans...

Koos Human (2010), founder and former publishing head of Human & Rousseau who became a Naspers affiliate in 1977 and published the controversial book by Leroux mentioned above, confirmed that he enjoyed independence in his publication choices as well as the support of the board of directors, particularly Vosloo. According to Human (2010):

> Vosloo was very easy to work with -- he always told me that I must decide for myself -- that they [the board] was not there to prescribe to us....[But] I suspect that Tafelberg [the oldest book publisher in the Naspers group] could have experienced a bit more pressure....One case was a book by Willie Esterhuyse which Tafelberg published under the title *Dood van apartheid* [Death of apartheid] -- and Piet Cillié [then chairman of the board] went ballistic...the title was then changed to *Afskeid van apartheid* [Farewell to apartheid].

One should, however, also consider the role of the financial interests of Naspers in opposing the censorship of Afrikaans books which they have published. In other words, once Naspers allowed publishers a large measure of discretion it followed that books that fell foul of government censors often had to be defended, even in court if need be. It could also be part of a process of building cultural capital, in which the book publishing division of Naspers was regarded as "torch carrier for Afrikaans culture" (Wasserman, 2010c). At the same time, the company was probably able to defend itself from criticism from the conservative Afrikaner establishment -- including the NP -- because the Afrikaans literature at issue was aimed at a rather small intellectual elite and not the broad readership of Afrikaans newspapers like *Die Burger*. (The fact that the debates around the censorship of these works became public controversies can ironically be ascribed in a large part to the reporting role of Naspers newspapers.)

Whatever the true state of affairs at Naspers board room level, respondents in this study were unanimous that *Die Burger* had a long tradition of criticism against the censorship of the arts -- even if that sometimes meant a measure of tension with NP government structures at various levels. Not that the engagement was always very direct, but Coetzee (2010) recounts how even minor features of any suggestions in texts would be used by journalists at *Die Burger* to "relay" comment and criticism to NP politicians. According to Coetzee (2010):

> Alf Ries [infamous senior political editor close to the NP] always said that if *Die Burger* said that 'the minster was welcomed at the meeting', in stead of 'the minister was greeted by a standing ovation in a crowded hall', the newspaper could get critical and sometimes sharp critical messages through to politicians in this indirect way..."

But Wasserman (2010c) remembered how, on the issue of literary censorship, other editorial staff members confronted the system much more seriously in order to air counter-hegemonic views:

> Sean [Jacobs] for instance made a point of reporting on...books that were banned. Stephanie Hefer [chief sub editor] always gave him a few column inches somewhere -- it was like a game they played. Both knew that you could not make a lead article about that -- but both knew if you played it fine enough you could push it into a column somewhere...

Dommisse (2010) argued that *Die Burger* had established "a strong voice with regards to the freedom of the word". He traced the tradition back to a "particular powerful" editorial by the renowned arts editor W.E.G. Louw[xxxvii]. Coetzee (2010), in turn, shared an interesting theory about the complicated positioning of *Die Burger* against censorship:

> *Die Burger* frequently crossed swords with the chief censor...and through him also with the government, specifically to stop censorship of the arts...The arts were maybe...the one sphere of life where *Die Burger* possibly thought -- here is a place where more freedom must be allowed for the benefit of the greater society...

In other words, it was the place assigned to the arts in society by *Die Burger* which influenced the positioning of the newspaper towards censorship (see discussion below on arts journalism and censorship).

6.1.3.2 Cultural boycott

The international cultural boycott, supported by the ANC during its liberation struggle, could be distinguished from the censorship of the arts by the NP government on a number of grounds (see Chapter 5). But most respondents to this study would not seriously entertain the notion. Melvyn Minnaar, a freelance correspondent of *Die Burger* who, as cultural publicist and administrator, came into direct contact with cultural activists of the ANC during apartheid was the only one who offered some critical insight into the complexities of the cultural

boycott (Minnaar, 2010). Of the others, a few respondents admitted lack of understanding or interest in the strategic context of the cultural boycott in the 1990s (see Coetzee, 2010; Joubert, 2010).

In general, however, the consensus amongst respondents was that a cultural boycott could only be "counter-productive" (Botha, 2010). This view is close to the educational (informative) and even protesting (liberating) role of the arts and arts journalism in society (see discussion below). For example, as Botha (2010) said:

> Culture must be open...reasonable people must talk to each other -- that is how you can convince another person...

Dommisse (2010) reiterated a similar sentiment: That the boycott was "self-destructive" because it prevented "new ideas" to enter the public domain. But the opposition of Dommisse to the cultural boycott was probably not only motivated by personal philosophy. He was arguably also more interested in and better informed than arts journalists about the political strategy of the NP in opposing the cultural boycott (see the discussion in Chapter 5).

Dommisse's emphasis on "reason" and the power of "open culture" in arguing against the cultural boycott returns the discussion to the point made by Wasserman (2010c) above -- that the cultural ideals of *Die Burger* rested on a particular Western (Enlightenment) conception of civilisation. From that paradigm it was clearly conceivable that the cultural boycott should be opposed because it will lead to the stagnation of reason. In addition, the cultural boycott was often presented as a threat to Western Enlightenment ideals that came from Europe's "Other" (Said, 1994). The discussion in Chapter 5 indicated that similar sentiments formed the basis of many newspaper debates and editorial comments (also in cartoons) about the restructuring of the official arts and culture dispensation during the decade.

6.1.3.3 Language

Despite different political, economic, and cultural shifts since the early 1980s, Naspers however "remained committed to Afrikaans" -- even on a practical board room level where Afrikaans remained the language of communication (Vosloo, 2010). According to Vosloo,

(2010) non-white members of the board were still selected on the principle that they must be able to speak Afrikaans[xxxviii] (also). He continued (*ibid.*):

> ...because we know that if there is one guy who is mono-lingual everybody would switch to English...

It is thus safe to say that *Die Burger*, as self-proclaimed fighter for the future of Afrikaans, could have counted on the continued support of the Naspers board of directors in at least this regard. But Dommisse (2010) was hesitant to consider the theory that the arguably reactionary political positioning *of Die Burger*, especially towards the protection and promotion of Afrikaans, played a part in the circulation successes in the 1990s (see Chapter 5 for examples of both the intense frequency of coverage and the constant use of struggle metaphors to frame discussions of the perceived threat to the survival of Afrikaans). Dommisse (2010) only conceded the importance of the Afrikaans language debate for the newspaper from a cultural and commercial perspective:

> It is obviously in the own interest of *Die Burger* [to promote Afrikaans]...you will be stupid not to keep it in the public eye all the time. If Afrikaans disappears as language at Stellenbosch [University], the intellectual debate in *Die Burger* will be nearly dead....In terms of the core readership of the newspaper the language is very important...

Coetzee (2010) said that as news editor in the 1990s he always knew that Afrikaans acted as a powerful "news value". He also confirmed the importance that amongst others Dommisse (2010) ascribed to the so-called language debate at Stellenbosch University (SU) for *Die Burger*. Coetzee (2010) explained:

> You knew that Stellenbosch was the birthplace of Afrikaans and if you touch Stellenbosch, you touch Afrikaans...

Besides obvious historic revisionism (regarding the origins of Afrikaans), Coetzee's (2010) statement made it clear that for *Die Burger* Afrikaans at SU become symbolic of the role and place of the language in society at large. According to Coetzee, another factor in the

promotion of Afrikaans for *Die Burger* was a deliberate focus on the historic relationship with Dutch, (2010), thereby confirming the trend recorded in Chapter 5. He stated (*ibid.*):

> It was part of the strategy, therefore *Die Burger* [for instance] always allowed Dutch people to publish their letters in the newspaper in that language...to underscore the connection and maybe also to be able to say Afrikaans is more important than just a little local language...

6.1.4 Habitus

In this section the role and positioning of arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) will be considered against the backdrop of the theory of habitus formulated by Bourdieu. In this view habitus refers to processes of socialisation and education, as well as the professional experience of journalists. The argument is that who arts journalists are -- where they come from, and what type of training they receive -- will influence their tastes, values, and decisions. Thus a description of habitus will enable an analysis of the nature of cultural capital valued and manufactured by individuals and groups of arts journalists. Chapter 5 already referred to biographical information of journalists as it was presented in newspaper texts. Here the discussion is extended with auto-biographical information provided during individual semi-structured in-depth interviews. The aim is to explore how the tastes and values of arts journalists at *Die Burger* were structured by their habitus.

None of the arts journalists working at *Die Burger* in the 1990s had specialist training in arts journalism -- for the obvious reason that specialist courses in that discipline did not exist at the time in South Africa. In fact, an older generation of arts journalists, including Kerneels Breytenbach, Johann Botha, Wilhelm Grütter, André le Roux and Zirk van den Berg, did not enjoy tertiary education as journalists at all. They learned their trade on the job after tertiary education in other disciplines -- often in the field of Afrikaans literature[xxxix].

In contrast, the following key members of a younger generation interviewed for this study -- Emile Joubert, Egbert de Waal, Cobus van Bosch, and Herman Wasserman -- all completed the honours journalism programme at Stellenbosch University (SU) in the 1980s and early 1990s. The SU programme was initiated and started by Naspers -- with the former editor Piet

Cillié as first head of the department. Subsequently Naspers often recruited amongst students and graduates.

Although the influence of journalism training at SU on arts journalism at *Die Burger* in the 1990s is not part of this study, it is reasonable to deduce that training at SU had some impact on the habitus of the graduates mentioned above. The fact that all were white Afrikaans males of a comparable age and social stratification strengthens the possibility that similar experiences might have become part of their individual habitus. Furthermore, they might also have been internalising a particular group habitus. (Chapter 4 already addressed the issue of the male dominated nature of arts journalism at *Die Burger* -- and subsequently in this study. The issue will also be addressed again in closing below.)

In the main, respondents accepted a bursary and/or a job offer from *Die Burger* during or soon after completing their tertiary education. Many young enthusiasts aimed for a much sought-after position at the prestigious arts desk right from the start but were prepared to wait their turn while gaining some experience as general reporters and applying themselves as freelance reviewers to impress the arts editor. In fact, a number of arts journalists described how they were approached by the arts editor, rather than applying to the arts desk.

However, the aim of the outline above is not to suggest that arts journalists at *Die Burger* in the 1990s can definitively be divided between an older and younger generation, or that either group displayed a clear homogeneity in terms of habitus. Due to numerous factors a number of overlaps and/or other differences existed between and within groups.

For instance: The successive arts editors during the decade, Kerneels Breytenbach, Johann Botha, and Wilhelm Grütter, belonged to the older generation category in terms of the outline above (general liberal arts/humanities education rather than tertiary journalism training). Breytenbach and Botha also shared an advanced knowledge of Afrikaans literature, having completed postgraduate degrees in that area (the former a Masters degree and the latter a PhD). Their individual trajectory as arts journalists, however, differed substantially. Breytenbach became a pop culture (especially music) trendsetter and role model in Afrikaans arts journalism while Botha remained attached to literature and was passionate about Afrikaans and environmental issues. As was indicated in Chapter 5, Grütter, the son of

German immigrants, was a cultural omnivore with classical tastes, especially for Western art music.

Amongst the younger generation, Joubert by his own admission followed the pop culture wave created by Breytenbach while De Waal had great respect for the example set by Grütter. According to De Waal (2010):

> Wilhelm [Grütter] was a mentor in arts journalism...so versatile...widely read...strong opinion... absolutely super-knowledgeable about classical music...old school bohemian intellectual...maverick de luxe...[but] he also incorporated the popular...[and showed that] a call for quality does not necessarily mean you are looking for high art...

Wasserman, who cultivated a taste for classical music and obtained a doctorate (DLitt) in Afrikaans literature while he was working as an arts journalist, also had a strong interest in and knowledge of popular culture. In a sense he thus combined elements of the traditions of Breytenbach, Botha and Grütter.

But despite these varied qualifications, some overall trends still become visible in a basic differentiation between an older and younger generation of arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999). Firstly, the difference in educational habitus between the two generations reflects a shift that arguably occurred within South African journalism at large -- that of formal tertiary training in journalism becoming much more common during the latter part of the 20th century. Secondly, a closer look at the younger generation confirms that tertiary education in the humanities, arts, and social sciences in general, and specifically in Afrikaans literature, remained a constant for arts journalists. In other words, before members of a younger generation embarked on specialised journalism training, they were often educated in Afrikaans literature, like some of their older predecessors. It is thus conceivable that their individual judgments of taste were similarly influenced with regard to what could, for instance, be seen as the Afrikaans high art literary canon at the time. An interesting question (although also not part of this study) might be to examine the nature of the curriculum shifts that may have occurred between the older and younger generation of Afrikaans literary students and how that might have affected their individual judgments of taste as arts journalists later on.

Another so-called high arts tradition, the visual or fine arts, was also strongly represented in *Die Burger* in the 1990s. The permanent arts critic at the beginning of the decade, Zirk van den Berg, had university training in Afrikaans and art history. His successor, Cobus van Bosch, completed his part-time university training as an art student while he was working as an arts journalist during the 1990s.

Individual professional trajectories also affected arts journalism at *Die Burger* in the 1990s. For instance, by the end of the 1980s the arts desk had a very strong core, consisting of the arts editor Breytenbach, Le Roux (books editor), and Van den Berg (fine arts critic). Botha, who replaced Breytenbach in 1990, and the remaining two staff members did not get along well for various reasons, in part because of tension between an established team and a new leader (Botha, 2010; Van den Berg, 2010; Le Roux, 2010). Both Le Roux and Van den Berg subsequently left the arts desk early in the decade. During the 1990s a new core developed around Botha and Grütter -- the latter joined the arts desk after the departure of Le Roux and eventually succeeded Botha as arts editor in 1996. As was indicated above, the arts journalists who joined Botha and Grütter in the 1990s were predominately members of a younger generation of formally trained journalists (in the main at Stellenbosch University specifically).

6.2 Hegemonic struggles

In this section the application of the second category of the Van Dijk model -- views of respondents about the positioning of arts journalists in relation to other stake holders at *Die Burger* -- generated the following sub-categories: arts and politics, arts and censorships and boycotts, arts and company (Naspers and *Die Burger*), and arts and Afrikaans. The aim here is to strengthen the understanding of discursive struggles around arts journalists in the 1990s.

6.2.1 Arts and politics

In the discussion above the political context in which arts journalists operated became clear. In short, *Die Burger* remained a NP newspaper for most of the 1990s. The first obvious question is therefore to address the political positioning of arts journalists towards the NP.

Besides a reference to famous former arts editor W.E.G. Louw as a "Party man" (Vosloo, 2010) and Dommisse (2010), who did/could not deny that he supported the NP, no respondent to this study -- and specifically none of the arts journalists -- seemingly supported that party actively and/or wholeheartedly before or during the 1990s. In fact, most respondents claimed dislike for (and distance from) the NP and its apartheid policies and practices. If taken as the whole truth, many arts journalists at *Die Burger* then arguably had to negotiate a constant tension between their personal beliefs and explicit newspaper policy.

The question why a number of self-proclaimed, free-thinking journalists in fact joined the restrictive environment of *Die Burger* in the first place was not addressed in any depth by this study. Self-suggested answers ranged from the practical (they were just looking for any bursary/job) to the psychological (it reflected an unresolved adolescent tension between compliance with and rebellion against paternalistic Afrikanerdom). Respondents were, however, in agreement that even before they joined the arts desk they viewed it as a haven of relative freedom within the restrictive environment of *Die Burger*. It would seem that a position at the arts desk eased some of the tension created by joining *Die Burger* in the first place (because within limits, it was possible to express personal and even counter-hegemonic views as an arts journalist).

But how did the arts page of *Die Burger* achieve this reputation and tradition of relative independence from the official political positioning of the newspaper during apartheid? According to Wasserman (2010c), a particular positioning towards culture was

> part of the brand of *Die Burger.* 'We are cultivated, we talk rationally, also about politics'. So in that way it was also a way to emphasize the status of Afrikaans culture. 'We have books, we have classical music'....Unconsciously it was maybe also a way to say 'we are civilised, enlightened, the Westerners'....In a way it also had to function to tell the Afrikaners: 'you guys are truly the light in the darkness of Africa'...

Breytenbach (2010) supported the notion of a higher civilising mission for the arts page. He described how arts journalists during his term tried to show both Afrikaans readers and the English opposition that Afrikaans culture was "not inferior, but on the same level, even higher". They seemingly succeeded because according to various respondents, including

Breytenbach (2010), the arts page of *Die Burger* gained wide respect and trust (cultural capital -- see Chapter 2), -- amongst readers who disagreed with the newspaper's political position. Once that reputation was established, Breytenbach (2010) concluded, the arts page became, to an extent, "untouchable" because succeeding editors of the newspaper did not want to interfere with a winning recipe.

Botha (2010) called the air of untouchability of the arts page the "ghost of W.E.G. Louw" who, as a renowned Afrikaans intellectual and writer, was given the specific task to develop a reputable arts page for *Die Burger* in the late 1950s. Interestingly enough, various respondents to this study rather point to one of his successors, Victor Holloway, as the arts editor who truly established the tradition of intellectual freedom and independence to the arts page. Whatever the case, as the discussion above has indicated, it would be a mistake to ascribe too much to the agency of particular individuals in the cultural and political positioning of *Die Burger*. It is clear that various converging structural factors, resting on visions of cultural superiority that were motivated by perceptions of cultural inferiority also contributed.

According to Vosloo (2010), the arts page was "sacrosanct" and arts journalists "did their own thing". He also ascribed the situation to "an independent streak" that arose historically through the agency of specific "non-conformists or unorthodox" individuals such as F.L. Alexander, Victor Holloway, and Kerneels Breytenbach. Dommisse (2010) also referred to F.L. Alexander ("who worked under W.E.G. Louw") as a key figure in the history of relative independence established by the arts page. He continued (2010):

> The arts page [during my time as editor]...was in my view totally free to write what it wanted to...[but] I think there still was an understanding that the political direction of the newspaper was set by the editor...but within that it [the arts page] was as free as could be with regards to the arts...

With the reference to freedom "with regards to the arts" Dommisse (2010) pointed to the determining factor of the relative freedom of the arts desk at *Die Burger*. It firstly relates to the "beat" system at the newspaper, in which different areas of interest such as politics, sport, and news are assigned to different groups and individuals. The beat system meant that the arts desk was routinely and organisationally removed from the political desk. But one could also argue that the organisational separation also occurred on a conceptual level because of a

hegemonic view that the arts is a domain that has to do with timeless, "universal" subjects and values that stand at a domain removed from everyday current political life in a specific context. From such a perspective, it would follow logically that the arts could/would be "allowed" a measure of "freedom" because it would not impinge on the newspaper's political position and coverage.

Respondents made it clear that they always knew that this freedom of arts journalists had limits. Van den Berg (2010), for example, described "definite political pressure from within the company in the sense that you knew what was acceptable and what not". He explained (*ibid.*):

> The newspaper was strongly National Party-minded and the bust of D.F. Malan [former prime minister and first editor of *Die Burger*] waited for you at the lifts...you applied self-censorship where necessary.

Van den Berg (2010), however, dispelled the perception that coverage of the arts was always safely removed from political life during apartheid. He states: "I could hardly write about [fine] art without finding myself on dangerous ground" (Van den Berg, 2010). Thus, although the relative, structurally determined freedom of arts journalists rested on the understanding that they will engage with the arts for art's sake only, it was not always practically possible -- even within the restraints of self-censorship. In fact, in Chapter 5 at least one clear example of hegemonic struggle on a political level between arts journalists and the editorial management was pointed out.

In that case tension arose between the editor Dommisse and some members of the arts desk about the issue of "collective guilt" for Afrikaners when the TRC was investigating apartheid atrocities in the 1990s. A key moment in this conflict was a review of André Brink's play *Die Jogger* by Herman Wasserman, in which he referred to the 'collective guilt' of Afrikaners. Wasserman (2010c) remembered that Dommisse called him in for a "tongue lashing":

> His manner was always very much like a school master, I felt. He said that to imply that people are collectively guilty, is similar to what the Germans did to the Jews....It was obviously a false analogy...[but] It was clear that a line has been drawn at that stage -- that the arts desk had to keep busy with arts stuff

> and not with political stuff. The indication was clear: arts are written by the arts desk and politics by the political desk...

More than a decade later Dommisse (2010) apparently still adhered to the views he expressed in the 1990s by calling collective guilt "one of the most dangerous dogmas ever in human history" and that "that is how the Jews were murdered". He stated that Wasserman was on "very thin ice" with the theory of collective guilt because it spells danger to "a minority grouping in this country" (*ibid.*).

In the 1990s tension between the arts desk and Dommisse came to a head when three members of the arts desk, including Wasserman, then signed a letter of apology on behalf of Afrikaans journalists at Naspers to the TRC (see Chapter 5). Van Bosch (2010), another member of the arts desk who signed the letter of apology to the TRC, remembered that the confrontation between Dommisse and Wasserman about the "collective guilt" review became the subject of office gossip. In reaction, according to Van Bosch (2010), Dommisse called a general editorial meeting in which he affirmed Wasserman's right to express his own opinion, but he simultaneously declared that "collective quilt does not exist".

According to Wasserman (2010c), the collective guilt review incident demonstrated the inner workings of editorial censorship:

> This is how influence works in journalism -- 90% of the censorship is self-censorship. You are called into the office once -- and you disagree with Dommisse -- but thereafter you are not going to use 'collective guilt' again. You know where the lines are drawn -- or you get plainly fed-up [of constantly stating the counter-hegemonic view].The line gets drawn once and then we move around within that...

Should one thus conclude that the reputation of the arts desk as a site for the creation of counter-hegemonic political discourses was overblown? The fact that very few clear examples of conflicts between arts journalists and the political desk on the political positioning *of Die Burger* in the 1990s could be identified through textual analysis (see Chapter 5) seems to support this view.

Respondents such as Le Roux (2010) and Wasserman (2010c), however, claimed that the approaches, attitudes, intensions, and motivations of many arts journalists often differed vastly from that of most political journalists although some of their political positions in print may have corresponded quite closely on occasion (more about this in the discussion below). It must also be considered that the strongest contribution of arts journalists in challenging hegemonic discourses took place on a less directly party political platform (but still dealt with political issues none the less) such as boycotts and censorship of the arts.

6.2.2 Arts and censorships, boycotts

It is safe to say that members of the arts desk constantly positioned themselves discursively against the censorship of the arts. Chapter 5 indicated that one of the fiercest critics of government censorship during the latter part of the 1980s and the early 1990s at *Die Burger* was André le Roux, books editor of *Die Burger* and also a published writer. According to Le Roux (2010) the arts desk indeed "fought hard" against censorship and Afrikaner conservatism in general, but he also qualified their stance:

> But although we made people cross and wrote what we wanted to, we were not irresponsible...It is not as if we were cowboys...

Van Bosch (2010) viewed the often intense opposition of arts journalists at *Die Burger* to censorship as a result of their socialisation (habitus):

> I think it had a lot to do with our own self -- how we were raised in the system -- that rebellion. You now get the chance like Boetman [the journalist Chris Louw who famously listed the 'sins of Afrikaner fathers' in an open letter in 2000] to say in public: "Fuck you"....You are against censorship, but you also want to get the system back...

Seemingly, le Roux's strong anti-censorship stance also originated from his habitus -- in this case his personal trajectory as a writer. Le Roux (2010) confirmed that two of his own books fell foul of the censors during apartheid:

> I was 18 years old when they [government censors] banned my volume of poetry...published by Human & Rousseau [part of Naspers]...because of sex and religion -- I had Moses using a condom...then came *Te hel met Ouma* [literally: To hell with Grandma] in which I published ANC manifestos...

According to Le Roux (2010), he clearly realised the restrictions and boundaries of a medium such as *Die Burger*:

> That was the interesting thing about those times -- fiction took over the role of newspapers in terms of the distribution of information. You would never have been able to publish a manifesto of the ANC on the arts pages of *Die Burger*, but you could do it in a book [ironically often also published by Naspers -- GJB].

Still, according to Le Roux (2010), in the main and within some clear boundaries, the arts desk of *Die Burger* was "left alone to do their own thing". He continued (*ibid.*):

> You always have tension between...the creative sensibility and the practical politics of the day, and you know what the politics of those days were like. In some sense the arts page was apolitical...we did not care what was happening in the rest of *Die Burger's* politics. If there was a Voëlvry tour...or *Piekniek by Dingaan*[xl]...then we wrote about it and the political guys could moan if they wanted to. We just went ahead to cover those things and our excuse was simply that it was a cultural or an arts happening that should be covered on the arts page. The same with the ANC meeting at Vic Falls[xli].

But Chapter 3 showed that Le Roux was very critical of the cultural boycott and the writers who endorsed it. When questioned about the fact that in this respect his position corresponded with the official political strategy of *Die Burger* and the NP, that he claimed not to have supported, Le Roux (2010) responded:

> That does not bother me. If their view corresponded to mine by chance, I was not going to change mine just to be different...I made myself unpopular with the writers [who supported the boycott]...some still hold it against me...

Le Roux (2010) emphasised that most of the Afrikaans writers he referred to above retracted their support for the cultural boycott early in the 1990s, thereby seemingly vindicating his decision to oppose it. However, the fact remains that at an arguably critical moment in the hegemonic struggles outside and within the NP dominated establishment in 1989, the views of *Die Burger* and its representative from the arts desk corresponded "by chance". As a result, the writers were unanimously vilified in *Die Burger* at a time when leading members of the NP establishment, including Ebbe Dommisse, were secretly negotiating with the ANC (see Chapter 3).

Dommisse (2010) admitted in retrospect that the writers "probably have reason to feel aggrieved because they were hit hard at times". But he continued (*ibid.*):

> I think the sort of thinking was more or less that if there was to be negotiations, then the National Party was basically the instrument or representative of the group in the country that really counted -- the Afrikaners -- and it would be down to the Afrikaners and the blacks to talk. Now you had these guys in between...I think the idea of the writers was correct -- you must negotiate, but were they the right people to negotiate?

In other words, for Dommisse the writers were out of place and meddling in politics and especially the specific party political strategy his was championing. Although Le Roux, as a self-proclaimed individualist and non-conformist (2010), apparently did not approach the issue with any party political strategy, he arguably shared Dommisse's view that the arts must somehow remain apart from the everyday realities of politics. According to Le Roux (2010):

> They [the editors of *Die Burger*] would obviously have stopped us [the arts desk] if we would have started with ANC propaganda [on the arts page]. But you must also remember that the arts page is a culture page and not a political page....We concentrated on what happened in the cultural and art world in the Cape.

Wasserman (2010c) agreed that the loyalty of arts journalists was to the arts and that arts journalists did not have a coherent political vision. But on the other hand he felt that arts journalists had a political "conscience around art" and tried to "shift boundaries" by, for example, interviewing artists with strong counter-hegemonic views (such as the often controversial Afrikaans poet and journalist Antjie Krog). This is an important point because as Coetzee (2010) indicated, especially prominent anti-establishment Afrikaans writers and intellectuals were often regarded personae non grata on news and opinion pages. The only way in which some of their counter-hegemonic views entered the public domain via *Die Burger* was through the arts page because arts journalists enjoyed and exercised a measure of editorial freedom.

6.2.3 Arts and company

Chapter 5 showed that Naspers promoted itself prominently on three fronts through arts journalism at *Die Burger* in the 1990s. The first (publicity for the book publishing division of Naspers) was noticeable throughout the decade but perhaps more pronounced in the first half. The second front of engagement for *Die Burger* was publicity for Afrikaans arts and culture festivals sponsored by Naspers. This only became a factor from 1995 onwards when the Klein Karoo National Arts Festival (KKNK) was launched. The third and last front, the promotion of Afrikaans -- and especially the Naspers sponsored Stigting vir Afrikaans [Foundation for Afrikaans] through *Die Burger*, will be discussed in the following section.

Interestingly enough, a clear example of tension between the arts page and Naspers interests in fact occurred around negative publicity for plans to close the only remaining Afrikaans book store owned by the company in the centre of Cape Town. Botha (2010) remembered clearly that "the only time I got scolded at the arts desk was when Ton Vosloo was mad at me" during the above mentioned controversy in the early 1990s (see Chapter 5). According to Botha (2010):

> I wrote a report after talking to guys like [the writer] Abraham de Vries who were furious at the decision...Ton invited me to come and have coffee with him there at the top of the glass palace [corporate head office] -- and he was fed-up.

> He in fact told me: 'Johann, I am fed-up [Afrikaans: 'gatvol'] with you -- in so many words...

Vosloo (2010) could not recall that he reprimanded Botha, even when prompted. Yet he remembered (the rest of) the bookshop incident "well". According to Vosloo (2010):

> Our problem is we never managed to successfully run a commercial book store aimed at Afrikaans, because there are just not enough feet. Writers have a big mouth when you come and close down the thing -- 'where is it all going to' -- but in the end more people bought books through Leserskring [the company's mail delivery book club] -- the ordinary people...and other book shops also carry Afrikaans books...

Although Botha (2010) was prepared to view the incident as an example of corporate miscommunication (that is, that he was blissfully unaware of thought processes in "higher boardrooms"), he also regarded it as symptomatic of the bigger problem of increased commercialisation at Naspers. He stated that "in the end it increasingly was about money at the Pers [Naspers]". Botha (2010) provided examples from history where Naspers "carried" struggling concerns for decades for the benefit of Afrikaans/Afrikaner audiences and declared:

> Look how longsuffering the Pers used to be when it concerned matters of the heart....That what was behind Ton's talk with me -- it concerned the...finances of the Pers. Since then that culture -- it is about money -- just escalated... (also see Vosloo's view on commercialism at Naspers at the beginning of this chapter).

But while Vosloo may have been centrally involved in decisions and processes which affected the close historic relationship between Naspers and Afrikaners, he was also the driving force behind the establishment of the Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees (KKNK) in Oudtshoorn in 1995. Despite efforts to position the arts and culture festival as "inclusive of all Afrikaans speakers", it still kept on drawing the majority of its support from (white) Afrikaners for the first decade and a half of its existence (Vosloo, 2010). According to Vosloo (2010), he convinced the board of Naspers to sponsor the first KKNK because he was worried about the

"enormous depression" in the Afrikaans community after 1994 and viewed the festival as a "way in which to give our people some hope again".

According to Botha (2010), he shared Vosloo's optimism for the KKNK at the time:

> I thought it was a bloody nice thing that happened, and obviously I knew some of the guys who worked with it -- Andrew Marais [head of corporate communication at Naspers] and so on -- it promoted the arts, it promoted Afrikaans -- it most certainly also meant something to the community of the Little Karoo -- I did not see anything negative about it...

Botha left *Die Burger* in the middle of 1996, just after the second KKNK. Some of the younger generation of arts journalists, such as Wasserman (2010c) and Van Bosch (2010), were much more critical about the festival as such, as well as the impact it had on editorial processes. Both remembered becoming aware of increased pressure to cover the festival -- and cover it in a particular way -- towards the end of the decade as the KKNK became a booming enterprise. According to Van Bosch (2010):

> What I specifically remember is when someone like Andrew Marais came in after we...expressed criticism against the festival -- for example that it was a bazaar for Boers or an Afrikaner party...then he would come in very disturbed and complained there to Wilhelm [Grütter]...

Wasserman (2010c) similarly became aware ("through a process of osmosis") of pressure to select and present KKNK material prominently on arts pages and to write positively about the festival in general (though not about specific festivals productions necessarily). He said (*ibid.*):

> Yes, from the beginning it was an absolute corporate effort...I remember the pressure was very strong to write positively about it -- to not be critical about it, to give lots of coverage to the event...I tried once or twice to ask why it is so overwhelmingly Afrikaans...with [the more culturally inclusive National Arts Festival in] Grahamstown in mind...why there were not more black people [at

> the KKNK]...but later you give up and realize that it was basically an Afrikaans corporate entertainment festival...

Respondents such as Wasserman (2010c), De Waal (2010), and Coetzee (2010) indicated that the paper's involvement with the KKNK influenced arts journalism at *Die Burger* on several levels. As was indicated in Chapter 5, annual coverage of the KKNK became a huge editorial and promotional project in which most departments and sections of the newspaper were involved. Coetzee (2010) argued that in this way the KKNK had a positive influence because it pushed the arts and arts journalism more towards centre stage as "newsworthy" in the eyes of the average reader. But Wasserman (2010c) felt that the strategic importance attached to the KKNK basically meant that news reporters were organised to hijack coverage -- especially when the impression arose that arts journalists were not all that enthusiastic promoters of the "cause". In other words, the traditional relative independence of the arts desk was threatened seriously at least once a year around the KKNK.

De Waal (2010) concluded that the success of the KKNK strengthened the impetus towards the commercialisation of especially Afrikaans arts and culture -- and as a result added pressure to arts journalists to shift their focus from so-called high to popular arts. The textual analysis has indicated that the KKNK played a significant role in the promotion of especially Afrikaans pop music -- arguably the most successful growth area in Afrikaans popular culture since 1994. It also showed that in the 1990s arts journalists were often involved in discursive struggles around the perceived lack of quality of many of these music offerings at the KKNK. It strengthened the perception amongst arts journalists that the festival was not about serious art for the connoisseur but provided mindless entertainment for the (white Afrikaans) masses.

6.2.4 Arts and Afrikaans

Although arts journalists were enthusiastic supporters of Afrikaans, they often adopted more varied and nuanced positions in debates about the perceived threat to the language and its role in a changing political and cultural dispensation than their political colleagues (see Chapter 5). Most respondents to this study in fact confirmed that they distanced themselves from what they viewed as efforts to reactionary mobilisation around the language. On the other hand, as was the case with censorship and the restructuring of the arts dispensation, arts journalists

seemingly lacked a “coherent vision” or strategy and reacted to events “as they happened” (Wasserman, 2010c).

Some arts journalists were for instance very critical at times about perceived threats to and the downscaling of Afrikaans in the domain of arts and culture (for instance on SABC television or as a medium for programme notes at the opera). It also became clear in Chapter 5 that amongst the arts journalists in the 1990s some were more interested and involved in Afrikaans language politics than others. Most importantly for the discussion here is that of the two arts editors of that decade, Wilhelm Grütter and Johann Botha, the latter became more directly involved in the Afrikaans language struggle.

Botha (2010) defended the platform he provided to the Naspers- sponsored Stigting vir Afrikaans [Foundation for Afrikaans] to promote their cause in the early 1990s (see Chapter 5). Botha (2010) specifically pointed to the fact that Andrew Marais, in his capacity as spokesperson of the Stigting vir Afrikaans, was given editorial space to respond to criticism (by prominent Afrikaans writers and intellectuals) that was published on the arts page in the first place. He stated (*ibid.*):

> Nobody pressured me to do it....There is something like fairness, you know -- if you insult someone you have to give him the chance to insult you back -- especially in publication...[but] nobody wanted to fire me, or anything like that...

Botha’s point is not without merit, but as the content analysis in Chapter 5 indicated, the extent of the platform given to the Stigting vir Afrikaans to promote itself seemed to overshadow the criticism against it in the end. The same trend was visible in the case of the Afrikaans book shop controversy (discussed above) -- a representative of Naspers was eventually given space on the arts page to answer critics in detail and at length -- after Botha apparently received a dressing down by Vosloo.

In addition, Chapter 5 also showed that the editorial space Botha provided to the Stigting vir Afrikaans followed a long article in which he as art editor defended the publication of counter-hegemonic views about the organisation on the arts page. In that article Botha made much of the so-called “open discussion” [Afrikaans: oop gesprek], a term favoured by editor

Piet Cillié in the repressive 1960s when he allowed some criticism of NP policy into *Die Burger*. Botha (2010) could not specifically remember the article he wrote or the chain of events, but it suggested that at the time he felt that the relative independence of the arts page was threatened. In this light, the extended publicity given to the Stigting vir Afrikaans afterwards can then only be viewed as a defeat.

6.3 Label and divide

In this section the third category of the Van Dijk model (examining strategies of labelling and division of cultural artefacts) was used to explore the criteria of arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) to distinguish between so-called high-popular art and how these criteria were used to position themselves in Afro/Euro-centric debates. The aim here is to see whether and how arts journalists contributed to existing cultural hierarchies being entrenched and/or challenged.

6.3.1 High/popular art

Botha (2010) argued against the notion of "tension" between so-called high and popular art and declared that he saw it as "as aspects of the same thing" and "a line with grades". This view was supported by most respondents to this study, which begs the question how arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) structured their critical judgments of taste as reviewers and critics. In other words, how did arts journalists consecrate (Bourdieu, 1993) art works and artists (decide on the quality of art) if they had already rejected the idea of a modernist hierarchy between so-called high and popular art?

To be able to talk about quality, arts journalists distinguished clearly between "good" and "bad". For example Botha (2010) declared:

> Much of the Afrikaans music you hear today is shit. Much of it is pure poetry -- it is pop but it is certainly good. Is that less good as a pianist who plays Mozart? I don't think it is...I think there is a ...snobbish element to so-called high art. It is a bit of a manufactured affair...

Interestingly enough, Botha (2010) did not only shift the emphasis to quality, but he also discredited judgments of taste based on a hierarchical distinction between high and popular art as "snobbish" and "manufactured". This last sentiment corresponds to the indication in Chapter 5 that arts journalists shared a certain suspicion towards what they perceived as academic elitism and snobbism. In a somewhat contradictory sense, as suggested by the pronounced emphasis on quality, arts journalists were themselves at the same time responsible for the creation of hierarchies of taste -- often based on a very arbitrary and personal set of criteria of quality. For example, when asked about his criteria for "good" art, Botha (2010) stated:

> My judgment of good art is terribly subjective. I can have all the training and experience I want...but in the end the ability I cultivate is based on my own biases [i.e. habitus – GJB] and my own instrument [i.e. cultural capital – GJB]. One must have an instrument to be able to pick up what is happening...If one does not have certain strings in your guitar, one is unable to make that sound -- but one can also not hear it...

Although Botha (2010) thus emphasised the notion of a very personal -- and thus potentially ultimately democratic/populist -- instrument of judgment for art ("art is what I say it is"), he then also re-introduces an elitist element ("either you have the ability or you don't"), arguably tied to individual and group habitus/cultural capital. The notion of elitism is further emphasised when Botha (2010) introduced the aspect of "intelligence" into the debate:

> But the other side of the issue is...there must be a few things one can say about what good art is -- but it may differ from medium to medium....It must be able to surprise you to some extent, it must to an extent also convey a coherent message to you...it must have an effect on you...there must be a certain measure of intelligence involved -- if you look at literature, there must arguably be empathy with the human condition...

Van den Berg (2010) also viewed the perceived difference between high and popular art as "continuum rather than a definite difference". He continued (2010):

> I think there is an element of what the artist wants to achieve, how sophisticated or unique his insight and its expression is, as well as in what measure it fits into popular tastes. In my view there are many worthy art debates within popular genres and many sorry works within so-called higher arts genres...I have no problem with popular art, except when it thinks of itself as high art....With regards to visual arts we never bothered to review pictures of Table Mountain, Cape Dutch homesteads or fishermen's boats.

Van den Berg (2010) thus also denied a strict hierarchy between high and popular art by seemingly accepting their existence as different ends on the same level. He also expressed suspicion against artistic pretence (Van den Berg [2010] rejected "popular art when it thinks of itself as high art"). But in this case suspicion is aimed at pretentious popular art not snobbish "so-called" high art, as Botha (2010) articulated. But Van den Berg (2010), like Botha (2010), maintained a clear hierarchy of quality -- "worthy" and "sorry" works of art.

If the views of Botha (2010) and Van den Berg (2010) are reconciled, the following "binary of division and branding" (Laughey, 2007:74) on which discourses of power depend can be outlined:

Positive art	**Negative art**
poetic Afrikaans pop	'shit' Afrikaans music
good	less good
Mozart	snobbish
Surprise	manufactured
coherent message	sorry
effect	popular art that thinks itself high art
intelligent	pictures of Table Mountain, Cape Dutch-
empathy with the human condition	homesteads or fishermen's boats
sophisticated	
unique insights and expression	
worthy	

Breytenbach (2010), in turn, strongly suggested "renewal" as the key factor in his criteria of judgment as an arts journalist, reviewer, and critic. It could be argued that in the list above

"renewal" could, to some extent, be covered by "surprise" but Breytenbach (2010) added a particular emphasis:

> ...renewal was absolutely the thing. I was always a weirdo...even with pop music I always realised there are some artists who draw smaller audiences...I liked something new. My problem with pop music was I was looking for something new. I am looking for something that has not been done before. This is one of the main reasons why I carried on for years, because I...am curious about the next new thing...it means the person is reacting to the tradition...

One can argue that an (over) emphasis on "renewal" may introduce an elitist element -- similar to Botha (2010) and Van den Berg (2010) above -- but Breytenbach (2010), to the contrary, tried to establish a link to "popularisation":

> I always thought [in for instance reviewing a new book] that somewhere there is someone who has not read before, and this book will get him started. So in some way renewal is sometimes also popularisation...

Although this is an interesting idea, the question remains whether "popularisation" is the correct term in this context. The role of arts journalism to which Breytenbach (2010) refers above can arguably be described more correctly by a term such as "education" (which will be addressed below) or even promotion.

Minnaar (2010) stated that "a work of art establishes to a large extent its own worth and I [as reviewer] must...try and look what it is and what it says -- and can you find out whether the thing is true to itself". Hambidge (2010) appears to agree with Minnaar (2010) in stating that "each book establishes its own demands". Furthermore, a reviewer must be "convinced that the person working within that genre is in fact understanding and deconstructing that genre and can add something to that genre..." (Hambidge, 2010) -- a sentiment that clearly also links up to Breytenbach's (2010) above. But Hambidge (2010) seemingly parted ways with most of the other respondents in her view that "art is supposed to be elitist". She continued (*ibid.*):

> It is per definition elitist. But art can also entertain...there is also place for entertainment...Art is not just the high...

While the last sentence may seem like a contradiction, it indicated that Hambidge's (2010) view may in fact not be that far removed from those of the other respondents discussed above. Hambidge (2010) is seemingly confirming an accepted postmodernist view that the clear hierarchy between high and popular art has disappeared. But, like the other respondents to this study, Hambidge (2010) maintained a personal set of criteria of judgment of taste based on the simple dichotomy of good versus bad.

Human (2010) listed the familiar sentiments of "originality, power to convince, acceptability and [that] each book just about has it own [criteria]". Wasserman (2010c) would seemingly agree with the last sentiment especially, but he switched the perspective around in stating that he "allowed himself to be led by the audience" at which a particular work of art and/or entertainment was aimed. Similarly to Hambidge (2010), he stressed the importance of "genre" in evaluating the standard of a particular work (Wasserman, 2010c). He continued (*ibid.*):

> I would always express an opinion about quality within the type of genre....What was important to me, was that some sort of evaluation must take place, that it is not all only promotion and fluff. I think I never completely bought into the celebrity cult...even with popular culture it would for me be more about genre...

Joubert (2010) described how he as an arts journalist developed a personal instrument of judgment ("bullshit detector") due to constant high levels of exposure to art and entertainment. He presented himself as someone with a "very high sensory level" and that as a reviewer he required that a particular production must "touch all bases", "rock from the word go" and leave him "feeling drenched" (Joubert, 2010). He continued (*ibid.*):

> Good art comes to you, you are not always looking for it. Good art is when I experience something that I did not expect to experience...suddenly the world opens up to you...

De Waal (2010) similarly concentrated on personal emotional response as part of his criteria of judgment:

> If the magic of the theatre remains intact, even when you see behind the scenes how the nuts and bolts operate, then it works for me as a reviewer. You [as a reviewer] do not go with the same sense of wonder to the theatre as the ordinary guy...if I am still drawn in regardless...then they have succeeded.

De Waal (2010) added that his criteria of judgment were sometimes influenced by other reviewers in the field:

> You also started to write for each other -- back and forth -- and compared your judgment to those of other people at the arts desk or at another newspaper....You were scared you could be caught out...that you did not have the capacity to make the right judgment...

Van Bosch (2010) remembers a similar experience with a particular reviewer in his field who he considered to be a mentor/trendsetter. But he also remembered that he was "terribly opinionated" when he started out as an arts journalist. He explained:

> I think it was because one was younger in those days. You are a young gun, and you are going to make your mark and tell people that the knowledge that you have accumulated in the last two years is the real true knowledge, and you don't have time for crap. And as time goes by, you discover...many of the things you thought was great back then are actually not that great...You are older and more humble...[Nowadays] I find many times even if I have a strong opinion about something, I would rather not express it too strongly...I would just state it, and that is OK...

This sentiment about "youthful folly" was actually common amongst respondents, as well as the idea that most of them had become far less critical and/or dismissive of what they regarded as low/popular and bad art/entertainment in the 1990s. At the same time, as was indicated in the discussion above, an element of elitism remained clearly visible even when respondents indicated that they have discarded the modernist hierarchy between high and

popular art. In terms of the theoretical framework of this study arts journalists in the 1990s at *Die Burger* (for various reasons) considered themselves capable of distinguishing between what is good and bad in arts and entertainment -- they were holders, manufacturers, and distributors of cultural capital.

6.3.2 Euro/Afro-centrism

In Chapter 5 the finding was that arts journalists were sceptical, critical, and even hostile to the so-called Eurocentric/Afro-centric debate of the 1990s. Arts journalists therefore also rejected calls by critics of Eurocentric art who wanted the arts dispensation to be Africanised, amongst others through processes of restructuring. This impression was confirmed by interviewing respondents who, on a basic level, rejected the notion that such a clear dichotomy existed in South African art. In other words, it was to the framing of the debate that they objected and not necessarily to the idea that the arts dispensation had to be restructured.

It is thus conceivable that the discursive opposition of arts journalists to critics of so-called Eurocentric art (observed in Chapter 5) was not necessarily motivated by hostile sentiments to so-called indigenous African artistic traditions *per se*. Similarly, one cannot automatically ascribe negative perceptions about African art as low(er) art as the main reason why some arts journalists strongly reject perceived efforts -- under the guise of Africanisation -- to dethrone established forms such as ballet, opera, and theatre. In fact, respondents to this study felt that they were in the main curious and interested in arts and artists across different spectrums and boundaries -- including the arts from/in so-called black Africa. This study in fact showed that arts journalists often selected *avant-garde* arts and artists -- also/especially those from outside a safe Afrikaner paradigm -- as a deliberate challenge to what they considered to be a conservative readership.

The argument becomes very complicated if you take into account the testimony of arts journalists (see discussion above) that they did not adhere to a hierarchy between high and popular/low art. In other words, they could not have considered African art as low art because they all have rejected a hierarchy between high and low art (and/or even denied that different entities such as high and low art exist in the first place). We have already seen above that respondents argued that Eurocentric, and therefore by implication also Afrocentric, were fake

categories. How then, can they be accused of looking down on African art if there was only one category -- art? Were they in fact thus only commenting as usual of the quality of arts that were practiced and preferred by people who happened to be black?

Findings in Chapter 5 suggested otherwise. It indicated that artistic productions and artefacts by or for black Africans were often associated by arts journalists with typical terms such as: "traditional", "tribal", "energetic", "naïve", "spontaneous", "rural", "simple", "honest", "barbaric", "raw", "natural", "untrained", "talented", "promising", "rough", "unsophisticated", "soulful", "tedious" and "emotional". Although most of these terms occurred generally in reviews, their use in reviews of African art often constructed a particular binary which conveyed a sense of childlike energy, potential, and promise -- inhibited by a lack of education/training, sophistication, and a capacity for circumspection and constraint.

In other words, African art was recognised as a separate category and stereotyped as a child-like "Other" in the post-colonial sense of the word (Said, 1994). It was not so much the fact that it was good or bad art as that it had originated from a different (unknown, less regarded, and often feared) paradigm -- some political commentators at *Die Burger* for instance frequently referred to a threat to a Western "civilisation" posed by Afrocentrism during the Eurocentric/Afrocentric debates (see Chapter 5). At the same time, these commentators claimed that the hegemonic Western values had a universal appeal, which rendered any effort to Africanise society even more inexplicable to them. It was perhaps also on this level -- a perception of the universality of entrenched Western traditions, ideas, values and forms of art -- that the views of arts journalists at *Die Burger* found some resonance with those of their political colleagues.

Van Bosch (2010) supported the notion that culture was often viewed in terms of "black and white" before and during the 1990s. He explained:

> In those days you thought it is one or the other, you looked at it through a Western lens or you looked at it through an African lens...I think it came from the old apartheid years -- it is white or black, you are right or wrong...

Thus, despite not necessarily positively discriminating against African arts and artists, arts journalists possibly had internalised a duality in which the black African lens was associated

with less value. Although not admitting to feelings of cultural superiority, respondents were adamant that they departed from a Western perspective on art. They also ascribed it in general to the fact that their criteria of judgment were basically personal and subjective -- therefore also based in their own particular culture. According to Botha (2010):

> Your experience of art and your evaluation of art are to a large extent bound to your culture, and it cannot be otherwise...I do not think that art is something outside humans, because it is made by humans and humans must appreciate it...

Le Roux (2010) also ascribed a Western perspective on art to his "own background" and the fact that he was approaching his job "from the inside of his own particular cultural life". In response to implied criticism that arts journalists did not engage with so-called Africanisation seriously and strategically, Le Roux (2010) stated that members of the arts desk were not engaging their task "from the "outside" (*ibid.*):

> The one thing that we did not do with the arts page is we did not approach it intellectually. We did not produce heavy theory...we had fun...we tried to write in an entertaining fashion...we did not walk the road of philosophy....We did not make a distinction between Western or Eastern or colonialism...we did not work with -isms. We worked with subjective opinions based on the little that we already knew at that stage...

But Van Bosch (2010) expanded the scope of his influence to include education. According to him (*ibid.*):

> My benchmark [as critic] at that stage was the ruling philosophies and theories around conceptual art or contemporary art...basically I applied what my Unisa lecturers conveyed to me about what good art is and what I should avoid...what I learned there was Western-orientated values...less about postmodernism or other cultures than would be the case today...I only completed my studies in 1998...as I progressed with my studies the influence of African art also started to feature more in our studies...

In other words, although the basis remained Western conceptions of art, Van Bosch (2010) already noticed a shift in the value system of the arts training he was receiving, arguably as part of changes in society at large.

Le Roux (2010) and other respondents credited their ability to provide what their target audience of (predominantly white) readers expected as a key determining factor in deciding what to cover on the arts and entertainment pages of *Die Burger*. On the other hand, some respondents, such as De Waal (2010), argued that arts journalists basically covered what they were themselves interested in. Wasserman (2010c) agreed that the starting point of selection and judgment was highly personal, but added:

> It started there. We wrote about the things we were passionate about. [But] you will have to look at the demographics -- we were mostly thirty something white males, so if you look at the things we covered -- especially in pop music -- more American rock and less hip-hop....We were culturally racist in the things we covered. There was a lot of freedom [to choose] but your judgment was still contextualized, not only based on your own taste.

In other words, criteria for selection and judgment were based on personal tastes and influences in a culturally determined context, shared by audiences. In arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) conceptions and constructions of art were arguably dominated by the maintenance of a simplistic duality between Western and African spheres of influence.

6.4. Main discourses

Levine (2007), and others, have argued about the role of the so-called *avant-garde* arts in society (see Chapter 3). In short, the logic of the *avant-garde* acts as a minority challenge to populist hegemony and provides a safe-guard against the tyranny of conservative democratic consensus (for instance about what should be accepted as good tastes and values in the community). Similar to findings about arts journalism in Britain, Europe, America, and South Africa in general (see Chapter 3), respondents in this study also indicated a strong identification with the logic of the *avant-garde*. For instance, according to Van den Berg (2010), arts journalists are the promoters of the arts so that more people can "expose themselves to it". Arts journalists "give direction to the ignorant and a point of view for those

in the know to consider" (*ibid*.). But, according to Van den Berg (2010), "unfortunately" the arts are "only of interest to a small group of people".

In Chapter 5 of this study, the logic of the *avant-garde* was examined from the perspective of the discourses about the role of the arts in society that arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) created and circulated in content. The four main themes that emerged -- protest, reconciliation, crisis, and education -- will be examined here in relation to the views that arts journalists themselves expressed during semi-structured in-depth interviews.

6.4.1 Protest

Because the logic of the *avant-garde* assigns to the arts a protesting and emancipating role, one could expect at least a measure of support for the phenomenon of protest art against apartheid from some arts journalists. Previous discussions have indicated that some arts journalists at *Die Burger* generally considered themselves relatively liberal in comparison with official newspaper positions on culture and politics. It was also clear that on occasion some arts journalists did use protest art as a launching pad for counter-hegemonic discussions. Of course, the particular focus of this study limited the extent to which protest art against apartheid remained relevant (after 1990 its *raison d'être* quickly disappeared). But still, it can be argued that familiarity with protest art against apartheid strongly influenced the views of respondents in this study about the role of the arts to protest against injustice, challenge hegemony, and affect change. Furthermore, the demise of apartheid also saw many artists engaging in other types of struggle and protest around, for instance, gender and identity politics. Some arts journalists in the 1990s were also clearly supportive of these broadly challenging and potentially liberating trends.

The analysis in Chapter 5, however, indicated a strong measure of scepticism amongst arts journalists about the phenomenon of protest art. This trend was confirmed during interviews with respondents, who consistently argued that so-called protest art must firstly succeed as "good" art. For instance, according to Botha (2010):

> It must succeed as art, or as entertainment. We always talk about art, but it remains a sliding scale....It must succeed as such before it can have an effect...

De Waal (2010) argued that "some people could do it [protest art] and others tried too hard". In direct contrast to the Brechtian goal of using theater as a process of "alienation", De Waal argued, for instance, that some plays by Athol Fugard "worked" because they "conveyed its message in a realistic, unforced manner" (*ibid.*). De Waal (2010) argued that it was basically unnecessary to promote a good production as "protest theatre". Van Bosch (2010) also viewed it as "problematic" when art is used "too much in the service of ideology". He continued (*ibid.*):

> Picasso said that all art is political, but if it is so straight and in your face -- at the end of the day it is just like the advertising world…I think art must preferably be about art, in some way. Today the emphasis is strongly placed on social...issues, about Aids, poverty...gender politics....Everybody is always looking for an issue about which they can make art...I think it can be overdone. In think in South Africa it was definitely overdone with struggle art…

In sum it is thus safe to say that respondents often argued from the so-called art-for-art's-sake perspective. But scepticism against the phenomenon of protest art may not only have originated from ideas about the intrinsic value and universality of art. It was arguably also influenced by the level of individual political awareness and engagement. Wasserman (2010c) for instance said that he started off at university with an "apolitical" view of the arts, but that he "started thinking more politically" while he was working as a Masters and then as a Doctoral student in literature. Still, as an arts journalist he simultaneously considered the arts desk as a "type of haven" (*ibid.*). Wasserman (2010c) explained:

> You arrive a bit traumatised after you have left the general news desk and had to deal with [the coverage of] crime all the time -- you sat in the courts....And then you arrived at the arts desk and there was coffee percolating in the corner and Wilhelm [Grütter -- arts editor] was smoking his pipe....Here was something you could enjoy. My coverage may have been coloured because of it -- I wanted to protect the arts from outside influences...

Joubert (2010), in turn, seemingly argued that the arts were just too small to tackle the huge animal of actual politics:

> Afrikaners, most of them are still closet-Nats [supporters of the now disbanded National Party]. So you could have written what you wanted [without having any influence]....Could any artist in the world have made any difference in South Africa...never in a month of Sundays.... In those days it was maybe an interesting narrative...but politics in itself is on a different level....It is like the elephant and the mouse walking across the wooden bridge and then the mouse said: "look we are really shaking it!"...

Van den Berg (2010) preferred to focus rather on the personal struggle of the artist but added that art can affect some sort of general mind shift:

> It makes it easy for artists when there is something to protest against. To struggle with your own demons is more difficult, but for me more interesting. But protest art has an important social role -- not only to air views, but to push the thought world gradually in a certain direction.

Despite his scepticism about "ideological art" (noted above) Van Bosch (2010) seemingly agreed with Van den Berg (2010) on the ability of art to influence the way people think:

> Art [in the 1990s] definitely rubbed some things under people's noses that they would not want to see or hear otherwise. We received enough reader complaints [to know]. Some would not have learned anything or became any wiser, but I am sure some did...

Thus, Van Bosch (2010), and others quoted here, moderated their pessimistic views about the transformative influence of the arts somewhat. But still the question arises whether their negativity did not spring from the same logic of the *avant-garde,* which seemingly formed the basis of their professional identity. In other words, because arts journalists saw themselves as part of a small, struggling elite, they could not but feel overwhelmed.

6.4.2 Reconciliation

Chapter 5 showed that a prominent discourse theme of arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) was reconciliation between black and white. This trend manifested in various ways --

such as the frequent selection of content with a theme of reconciliation and the expression of support for artists who engaged in works and productions viewed as reconciliatory (because they dealt with so-called African art and/or included artists from marginalised or different ethnic groups).

Respondents generally supported the idea that their approach to the arts and arts journalism supported reconciliation between black and white in the 1990s. Some expressed regret that they did not engage more actively with artists and arts forms outside their traditional frames of reference (see Joubert, 2010; Wasserman, 2010c; Botha, 2010). But at the same time these and other respondents rationalised their approach in the 1990s in at least three ways.

Firstly, as part of a theme already touched on by Le Roux (2010) and others above, the argument basically was that because arts journalists did not approach their task strategically or intellectually, they reacted rather instinctively to their surroundings. For instance, according to Joubert (2010):

> You did not think about it....You went and it was a bloody nice show and you joined in and stamped your feet...and it was good. But you never felt that you should now convey a political message and you must say: "hey, these guys are excluded and we should see more of this". You just worked with what was actually around you...

Another way of looking at this approach is that it lacked depth, context, circumspection, and led to superficial coverage. It also does not imply that as a result the content was somehow ideologically neutral (see Chapter 5).

Secondly, various respondents (see Botha, 2010; De Waal, 2010) pointed to the racial/racist structuring of both society and journalism in the 1990s. Due to the legacy of apartheid, white journalists were not used to -- and indeed hesitant/averse -- to visit black and so-called coloured neighbourhoods in search of artistic excellence (not that the idea was often seriously considered at the time). Van den Berg (2010) and others admitted that they concentrated on a few mainstream venues in the city. Thus, if so-called coloured and black artists did not find their own way to these established white-dominated centres, they would never be "discovered". Furthermore, *Die Burger* published a daily edition (called "*Ekstra*") exclusively

for so-called coloured readers at the time, which in a sense made it easy for white arts journalists to ignore that reader community without feeling guilty -- as black readers would have been catered for elsewhere. Respondents also said that little to no formal professional liaison took place between the exclusively white arts desk and so-called coloured staff members of *Ekstra*.

Still, Le Roux (2010) could declare with great certainty that "colour did not play a role at the arts page" and that it was "for everybody". Furthermore, some arts journalists seemingly viewed the mere fact that they were employed at the arts desks as a sign of open-mindedness. According to Joubert (2010):

> I felt I was at the arts desk of *Die Burger* and people knew where we stood -- obviously we were against censorship; obviously we were against racism...

Arts journalists may have regarded themselves as colour blind and non-discriminatory, but their coverage -- also around the theme of reconciliation -- was certainly structurally determined and biased due to amongst others the fact that they were working at a newspaper that published a separate edition for so-called coloured readers.

Thirdly, respondents shared an arguably typical journalistic aversion to what they regarded as "political correctness". Coupled to a fear of "ideological art", and a specific view of African artists and audiences as prone to a childlike political subservience to a "new" ideology (see Chapter 5), this led to examples of coverage that at times arguably contradicted the strong discourse of articulated reconciliation.

Thus, although this study does not dispute the idea that a position at the arts desk of *Die Burger* implied a certain relatively more liberal orientation -- as Joubert (2010) implied above -- it did not preclude the expression of arguably conservative political views, as the following discussion will show.

6.4.3 Crisis

Van Bosch (2010) described a personal tension between his self-image as a "liberal thinker" and "thoughts of doom and gloom" when he was faced with the "uncertain future" of the

changing arts and culture dispensation of South Africa in the 1990s. He remembered that he was amongst other things worried that certain "values" might be lost in the process (*ibid.*). But at the same time, Van Bosch (2010) argued that uncertainty and doubt did not lead to discrimination against the coverage of African art in *Die Burger*. In fact, "the opposite probably happened" because arts journalists would rather have said that "it must get into the newspaper" because "it is important" (Van Bosch, 2010).

Although this may sound confusing, Chapter 5 clearly indicated that arts journalists in general were trying to negotiate and reconcile a number of these and other contradictions during the 1990s. Thus, it followed that the same individuals, who sometimes took relatively liberal political positions and argued for reconciliation between white and black after apartheid, could also at times perpetuate a discourse of crisis around the restructuring of the official arts dispensation as part of the so-called Africanisation of society.

One must, however, be careful to reduce all criticism and opposition to the same cause. Criticism to the threat posed to some established arts companies and institutions due to the restructuring of the arts dispensation did not necessarily imply political conservatism. Personal preferences, for example for Western art music, opera, ballet, and theatre, certainly played a role when art subsidies suddenly ran dry and long-standing performing arts companies were faced with the prospect of closing. Respondents such as Joubert (2010) and others said they wanted "inclusion" -- in other words that black artists, audiences, and art forms became part of the existing structures -- rather than the loss of an established and much revered tradition. Criticism of restructuring was also based on philosophical notions about the role of the arts in society. Wasserman (2010c), for example, argued:

> Dommisse and those guys maybe saw it as the fall of Western standards.…We maybe saw it as as sign that anything of value is fragile….The arts are always busy to defend itself against the onslaughts of the world…

But still, as Chapter 5 indicated, the discourse of crisis articulated by arts journalists at times corresponded closely to the negative and arguably reactionary views expressed in editorials, opinion pieces, and news reports. Wasserman (2010c) defended the arts desk:

> I do not think we really bought into the same argument [as Dommisse].…By chance our views from different sides came together at the same point…

Interestingly, Wasserman's (2010c) point above corresponds to an explanation by Le Roux (2010) about the apparent similarity between his negative stance on the cultural boycott of the ANC and that of the political desk during the 1990s. In that case different intentions and departure points apparently also led to more or less the same result on paper.

There is probably not much that arts journalists could have done about this situation at the time, but one wonders whether their non-strategic approach left them vulnerable to manipulation. Hendrik Coetzee, news editor during the 1990s described, for example, how he was instructed by Dommisse to give prominence to news items about the perceived crisis in the arts (Coetzee, 2010). Chapter 5 indicated that many of these crisis reports were written by members of the arts desk themselves. Wasserman (2010c) posited that the arts editor Wilhelm Grütter was amongst those tasked by the editor to write editorials in which the negative consequences of restructuring were constantly lamented.

6.4.4 Education

The literature review in Chapter 3 indicated that the educational role of arts journalism is often stressed by practitioners and commentators alike. Because arts journalists often identify strongly with the logic of the *avant-garde*, they often view themselves in similar romanticised terms -- for instance as "missionaries and guides" (Van den Berg, 2010). During apartheid, according to Breytenbach (2010), that role included efforts to "educate" some readers politically by reviewing scores of "protest" theatre productions during apartheid. The interesting aspect -- besides the fact that arts journalists were themselves often highly critical of "engaged" art -- was that they recognised that their readers were most probably not really interested in "protest" theatre. Bretenbach (2010) explained:

> So by the time I covered all that...protest theatre in the Space [famous alternative Cape Town theatre venue at the time]...you already agreed with those guys [the artists], with their arguments, it was not a problem for you. The only thing I as reviewer always had to keep in the back of my mind was that I had to describe for those guys in Bellville and Durbanville [predominantly

> Afrikaner suburbs of Cape Town at the time -- GJB], who did not put in foot in that theatre, what was going on there and what you were getting out of it. So it was a weird feeling sometimes, because you tried to get people into the theatre with reviews, but you knew that their politics were already that far right that they did not want to know about it. Under those circumstances many reviews were written as a type of education, rather than a review...

Apparently that self-appointed missionary role did not come to an end with the demise of apartheid. Van Bosch (2010) stated that during the 1990s arts journalists also wanted to educate conservative readers to be more tolerant -- not only regarding Africanisation but also about issues such as homosexuality. He explained (*ibid*):

> I think everybody at the arts desk thought...it is high time that they [readers] should start learning about these things...and sometimes you would purposely put something into the newspaper just to see what the reaction would be -- not only African things, but also two women or men kissing each other. It was a sign of changing times, but we often were deliberate...provocative, because we knew who our readers were [i.e. that the mainstream readership was conservative]...

But the political education of conservative readers was just one function. As Van Bosch (2010) and others indicated, arts journalists were keen to display their often newly acquired specialist knowledge and insights with aficionados. The textual analysis indicated for instance that knowledgeable commentators as Van Bosch and Minnaar often engaged seriously and insightfully with the latest fine arts trends. In this regard traditional journalism instincts possibly contributed to a drive to "discover the next best thing" -- as Breytenbach (2010) also articulated.

But, consistent with his previous comments, Le Roux (2010) deliberately emphasised the counter-point by declaring that he did not want to assign a "higher purpose" to arts journalism and that it is in any case difficult to "covert" people with a particular taste or preference to something else. He stressed that "arts journalism also is entertainment" and that "you do not have to change the world, as long as you can enjoy the world" (Le Roux, 2010).

At face value, Le Roux's comments could be read as a warning not to try and read too much into the actions and motives of arts journalists at *Die Burger* in the 1990s in hind-sight. Botha (2010) and Joubert (2010) declared, for instance, that arts journalists were energetic young people with personal dreams and ambitions, just busy living their lives and taking each day -- and story -- as it came. But one must take into consideration that the interviews gave respondents an opportunity not only to reflect on the past but also to (re-)construct it in a particular way. It is thus conceivable that some respondents, such as Le Roux (2010), Botha (2010), and Joubert (2010), were trying to rationalise the intrinsic institutionalised values and rituals that were part of their habitus during the 1990s in terms of the ideology of professional journalism. From this perspective they were the mirror -- the messengers in the middle who were not supposed to think strategically about their role as manufacturers of cultural capital. As long as the editor was happy, you could also have fun.

6.5 Discursive strategies: Selection and presentation

This section was based on the fifth and last category of the Van Dijk model adapted from the discussion in Chapter 5: factors involved in the selection and processing of content for coverage on the front and arts pages of *Die Burger* (1990-1999). The discussion first touches on the context of the selection of arts and culture news for front-page presentation and then concludes with a look at the production processes of the arts and entertainment page itself.

6.5.1 Front page issues

As was suggested in Chapter 5, Hendrik Coetzee, news editor of *Die Burger* during the 1990s, described an intricate process of selection and presentation for arts and culture news on general news pages. On the first level the process was simple: According to Coetzee (2010):

> It depended on whether it was an actuality that was just of interest to people in the arts....For example, art works that reached these ridiculous prices, it is such things that went into the news columns in order for people who normally just paged past the arts pages to realise that there was indeed something interesting and newsworthy about the arts...

But criteria for front page selection of arts and culture news sometimes included much more than straightforward "news value". Coetzee (2010) used a well-documented case to explain:

> ....the Black Christ [a controversial struggle paining] was very newsworthy...but if it should go on page 1 for example -- were the readers of *Die Burger* at that time ready for something like that? Or were they not ready...did you have to protect them against themselves by rather using it on the inside...

Coetzee (2010) thus confirmed that as gatekeeper he had to be rather "careful" because the community and politics -- "in the broadest sense" -- were much "narrower" than in his latter day experience. He elaborated (*ibid.*):

> Today people will accept much easier that news are judged purely on news value and not on all sorts of additional factors such as the sensitivities of a small group of readers who used to carry much more weight than they do today...

According to Coetzee (2010), narrow party political factors -- specifically support for the NP -- constituted another level he had to consider, for example in how *Die Burger* reported about fierce critics of apartheid such as the writers Breyten Breytenbach and André P. Brink. He stated (*ibid.*):

> I think that even the arts desk was under pressure then not to accommodate those people too much, and on the news pages it was much worse.... If people were too critical of the National Party -- and it often came from writers and others in art circles -- it was not used or it was seriously softened...

Coetzee (2010) said he received his clues about what was "acceptable and what not" at official news conferences and during "talks" with senior editorial staff members. From the same sources he also gathered that they were inclined to allow the arts page "a bit more than they would the news pages" (Coetzee, 2010). He continued:

> The excuse was "it is the arts page -- it writes for a specific audience -- while the news pages are for all the readers". It was in reality a bad argument that they used but...it worked in some way....Even when Breytenbach and Brink were personae non grata in the main paper, the arts desk wrote about them. There were risky art works...and it was published and it was accepted and the excuse was it was presented to an exclusive audience who was ready for it...

With regards to the other selection criteria identified in Chapter 5, Coetzee (2010) confirmed that self-promotion, Afrikaans, celebrity, conflict, and entertainment were indeed strong "news values". Furthermore, the rise and growth of Afrikaans arts festivals in the latter half of the decade led to a frequent combination of most of these news values (*ibid.*), thereby also providing a convincing explanation for the increased coverage around these events that was recorded in Chapter 5.

6.5.2 Arts and culture page

Joubert (2010) remembered that the arts desk in effect produced "two arts pages". In other words, arts journalists had a dual focus, even if they often had only one daily page to prepare. He explained (*ibid.*):

> One [was] for the intellectual arts community, from Oranjezicht to Onrus, and that arts page absolutely focussed on serious art, ballet reviews, deep interviews or theatre reviews....The other was a sort of TV-page, it went to the northern suburbs...the light arts page...

Other respondents in this study also hinted at tension between different perspectives on and perceptions of who the readers of the arts pages of *Die Burger* in fact were. Although a mantra among them was that as journalists they "knew and respected" their readers, they often contradicted themselves with statements such as the one by Joubert (2010) above. Other respondents echoed the sentiment that arts journalists had little time for especially Afrikaners who were deemed politically and culturally conservative and interested in "light" entertainment only. The "northern suburbs" [of Cape Town] became short hand for that group -- ironically also the backbone of the newspaper's readership over decades.

Thus, a perspective that was arguably closer to the truth about respect for readers was that arts journalists "respected those people who understood us" (Wasserman, 2010c). In other words, the ideal reader of the arts page was a member of a knowledgeable elite (in terms of the general readership of the newspaper). Interestingly enough, that elitism did not include an exclusively high arts orientation, perhaps for the simple reason that not all the members of the arts desk at a particular time were trained high art specialists -- there were also a good number of popular culture enthusiasts. It must also be realised that some of the high arts specialists at *Die Burger* also cultivated popular tastes or were true cultural omnivores in the postmodern understanding of the word.

In terms of Bourdieu's theory of habitus and cultural capital, it is understandable that the popular cultural enthusiasts would also buy into the arguably high art notion of quality ("good art") as a prerequisite of consecration (see discussion above). In other words, besides internalising a shared professional habitus, arts journalists were also competitors for cultural capital in their own (sub-) field at *Die Burger*. According to Bourdieu, a field is structured by some agreement about the basic rules of the game -- in this case, criteria for "good" art. Although these criteria may have been constantly renegotiated in discursive struggles between different arts journalists, some level of consensus was reached and internalised as part of individual and group habitus.

The search for a type of popular-elitist quality did not mean that arts journalists were ignoring the so-called non-elite majority of readers completely, or that they were only fed with television schedules and entertainment news (as Joubert [2010] suggested above). As was touched on in the sections above, arts journalists sometimes deliberately tried to provoke what they regarded as conservative sensibilities by publishing controversial artistic images or texts and attacking acts of artistic censorship based on moral outrage. Even the selection of controversial art works and productions for reviews, as well as the pronouncement of relatively liberal views, were sometimes seen as acts of provocation and/or education. In the same vein arts journalists, as consecrators of quality art, sometimes also attacked the "bad" popular tastes of the inhabitants of the "northern suburbs" in particular. Van Bosch (2010) and De Waal (2010) shared the interesting perspective that arts journalists were in fact acting out their own individual little rebellions against the conservative "system" which brought them up. Arts journalists such as Le Roux (2010) remembered fondly how "controversial" arts pages often drew reader reaction in the form of letters to the editor.

Apart from audience perceptions which influenced the selection and presentation of arts coverage informally, a more formal structure did also exist in the form of the so-called beat system. The beat system was arguably part of the often unspoken distinction between high and popular art.

In practice, formally trained specialists concentrated almost exclusively on either the visual arts, Western art music and opera, ballet or serious literature while more popular arts and entertainment (including popular films, music, and theatre) were the shared terrain of more or less well-informed and well-intentioned enthusiasts. During different stages in the 1990s, the arts desk was made up of different combinations of specialists and enthusiasts. Some overlaps occurred because the beat system had some flexibility depending on the requirements of a particular situation and arts offering and the particular interests and talents of individuals. In literature (on the books page) coverage, for example, was often shared between specialists and enthusiasts, depending on the genre.

Although some exclusivity also occurred within the popular beats, it depended more on tradition and consent than speciality. For instance, a junior enthusiast joining the arts desk was often assigned to cover general arts and entertainment news, conduct interviews, review light cabaret offerings, comedy, smaller popular music performances, and movies deemed of lesser importance. Usually, the more senior member officially in charge of coordinating films and/or pop music as a beat would have first say in selecting productions for coverage and review. Once the senior moved on (up or out of the arts desk), the popular arts beat was passed on to the most enthusiastic enthusiast waiting in the wings.

The coverage of television -- arguably the ultimate popular form of entertainment/art -- also displayed an internal hierarchy in the 1990s. On the one hand, a small team (of women) were tasked with the promotional aspects, including the preparation of daily TV schedules and the announcement of coming attractions, while the more highly regarded critical review and discussion of productions and trends were often delegated to arguably more senior (and male) arts journalists. Although one cannot ascribe this trend to sexism (alone or even in the main), the fact remained that as full-time staff members women were seriously under-represented in the 1990s. A few enjoyed very brief stints as junior enthusiasts while the noticeable exception, Nita Hazell, did not regard herself "a full member of the arts desk" (Hazell, 2010)

despite spending the whole decade preparing TV-schedules and promoting productions through news coverage and interviews.

Besides the beat system, arts coverage was also influenced by the longstanding tradition that the arts desk remained responsible for the full editorial production cycle of designated pages. In other words, copy was not only written and selected by arts journalists, but they also handled the page design and layout, sub-editing, and final proof-reading of copy. Le Roux (2010) explained:

> We designed our own pages, we did the sub-editing ourselves -- wrote the headings...nobody [from outside] touched our copy. We basically looked at each other's copy....We felt that we knew what we were talking about...

During the 1990s changes in the production processes of *Die Burger* introduced a specialist lay-out team which eventually took over some of the page design and lay-out duties. Arts journalists, however, remained the sub-editors and proof-readers of their own copy. They thus retained control of their own journalistic expressions and tried to curtail editorial pressure and censorship.

This does not mean that the arts desk was without its hierarchical power structures and that pressure and censorship were not part of the internal dynamics. The discussion above clearly showed that seniority counted while various respondents also recounted how individual arts and books editors influenced the context and content of coverage (see Le Roux, 2010; Wasserman, 2010c; Van den Berg, 2010; De Waal, 2010]. But at the same time these and other respondents also remembered that they enjoyed a higher degree of individual freedom as arts journalists than in other sections of the newspaper they were familiar with.

6.6 Summary

This chapter presented the findings from semi-structured, in-depth interviews with a number of arts journalists and other relevant respondents who were involved with or important to a discussion about arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999). The discussion was structured in order to respond more or less directly to findings from the CDA findings presented in Chapter 5, which meant that the same broad division into five categories occurred.

The discussion firstly focused on the traditional close relationship between Naspers, *Die Burger*, and the National Party (NP). Respondents described how Naspers deliberately positioned itself away from Afrikaner interest in general and the NP specifically while the editor of *Die Burger*, Ebbe Dommisse, was allowed to "follow the party line" for the rest of the decade. The study proposed that this move could have been a strategy to safeguard the political capital of Naspers invested with the NP while the company was also free to pursue other strategic alliances with a new power elite during the turbulent 1990s.

The hostile relationship between *Die Burger* and the TRC was also addressed, as well as the strategic use of the threat of communism to mobilise opposition to the ANC. Arts journalism was influenced in various ways, including on a personal level when conflict arose between members of the arts desk and the editor on a difference of opinion. In describing their feelings and motivations at the time, respondents confirmed the textual findings of Chapter 5 in this regard.

The section on the economic context of arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) included a discussion on the move from idealism to commercialisation at Naspers. The proposal was formulated that the shift mirrored a simultaneous change of focus from so-called high culture to popular culture. In its own defence, the company argued that it pursued international electronic commercial pop culture in order to survive financially. At the same time Naspers engaged its traditional Afrikaner constituency by financially supporting the establishments of huge Afrikaans cultural festivals, which had a profound influence on arts journalism at *Die Burger*. Ironically, the arts festivals themselves did not only hasten the commercialisation of Afrikaans culture, but they also expedited a shift to popular culture.

It also came to light that the appointment of Dommisse in 1990 introduced a new approach to editorial planning. More space was allocated to different sections, including the arts desk. The insight arose that findings from the textual analysis which pointed to the sole agency of Johann Botha, who became arts editor in 1990, may have been misleading.

The chapter also turned to the cultural context of arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999). The discussion addressed contradictions at Naspers and *Die Burger* with regards to their positioning on censorship, as well as their strategic opposition to the cultural boycott of the

ANC and promotion of Afrikaans. These factors were directly influential on arts journalism at the newspaper. Arguably, even more directly influential within the cultural context were the individual and group of habitus of arts journalists. In the discussion a distinction between an older and younger generation of arts journalists was established on the grounds of changing training patterns.

In evaluation of the discursive positioning of arts journalists in hegemonic struggles around issues such as the TRC, censorship, and language, it came to light that arts journalists considered themselves relatively independent from the political positioning of the paper. In general they argued that they were more liberal, and that their instincts and intensions differed from that of their political colleagues. Similarities between some of their discursive positions (for example in relation to the cultural boycott and so-called Africanisation) were ascribed to "chance". At the same time, experiences of self-censorship due to editorial pressure were also shared.

The chapter also listed the criteria of judgment of taste which arts journalists adhered to and found that although they seemingly tried to discard a modernist hierarchy between high and popular/low art, they clearly maintained an elitist sense of quality. They argued that a reliable instrument of judgment developed over time and that it was based on personal experience and culture, but that it also contained some formal criteria particular to the nature and context of a specific work of art and/or entertainment.

The expressed views of respondents to so-called African art were seemingly at odds with the findings in Chapter 5. In other words, respondents denied that they viewed African art as a different or lower arts paradigm in the 1990s. On the other hand, they admitted that their perspective was a Western one, and that they had a limited focus.

The next four discursive themes of arts journalism (1990-1999) were addressed from the perspective of respondents. They agreed with findings in Chapter 5 that they were skeptical about protest art but credited the arts with the ability to influence perceptions. Contradictions between a relatively liberal-mindedness, expressed in discourses of reconciliation, and more reactionary views as part of a discourse of crisis, were partly attributed to a lack of reflexivity amongst arts journalists. The proposal was presented that they opened themselves up to editorial manipulation by the political desk and editor.

The chapter concluded with a discussion of the criteria and context of selection and presentation of arts and culture news on firstly the front-page, and then the arts page itself. The impression was affirmed that traditional ideas of news worthiness and news values played a large part in the prominence afforded to arts and culture news. From the perspective of the news editor, there were complicating factors in the form of pressure from the political desk to adhere to party political strategies well as a general sensitivity towards the sensibilities of conservative readers.

Coverage on the arts page was affected by numerous factors including the beat system with its informal split between specialists and enthusiasts and the perception that the arts page catered for two groups of readers: a conservative bunch that had to be entertained, educated and occasionally infuriated, and a core group of aficionados who were looking for intellectual stimulation and specialist information.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will conclude this study and indicate its contribution to knowledge on an empirical, theoretical, and methodological level. The first and arguably strongest contribution of this study lies in its empirical knowledge of the under-researched field of arts journalism in South Africa. Furthermore, because of its focus, the study contributed to more critical insight into Afrikaans journalism in particular and especially at *Die Burger*, a terrain that has received arguably less attention in research up to now than for instance English language journalism and newspapers. In the process, this study also developed theoretical and methodological innovations which might enrich the field of journalism studies.

The following discussion will centre on the empirical contribution of the study while theoretical and methodological considerations will be addressed later. The chapter is guided by the one general and three specific research questions formulated in Chapter 1. The **general research question** was: What do the discourses and practices of arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) reveal about their role as manufacturers of cultural capital in a society in transition to democracy? The following **specific research questions** flowed from: (a) How did the changes in South African society impact on the discourse and practices of arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999)?; (b) How did arts journalists position themselves in relation to the official editorial view of *Die Burger* (1990-1999)?; and (c) How did arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) contribute to existing and/or new hierarchies of discursive power through cultural distinctions in a changing society? The three specific research questions will be addressed first and in their original numeric order. The general research question will follow in conclusion.

7.2 Empirical contribution

7.2.1 How did the changes in South African society impact on the discourse and practices of arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999)?

The unbanning of the ANC in 1990 unleashed a political shift that in the end negatively affected the close relationship between Naspers and the NP, the main political representative of white Afrikaner interests for decades. In other words, Naspers was strategically orientating

itself towards a new emerging, political power elite. At that stage, along with the so-called opening up of apartheid society, more ideological space arguably also developed for some employees of Naspers. For instance, a group of younger employees, including three arts journalists at *Die Burger*, made public their disagreement with official company policy around the TRC in 1998. This led to serious tension (and incidents of alleged intimidation) within the company and newspaper (the situation at *Die Burger* will be addressed in more detail below).

Arts journalists at *Die Burger* -- who proclaimed a relatively liberal political stance even during apartheid -- were faced with the appointment of the staunch NP supporter Ebbe Dommisse as editor in 1990. This can be regarded as a strategy by Naspers to keep a political back door open to protect its different "species" of capital in white Afrikaners and especially in case the NP emerged as a strong factor in the so-called new South Africa.

In the 1990s, Naspers listed on the JSE and thereby formalised its shift away from sectarian idealism to international commercialism. Arts journalism at *Die Burger* was more or less directly affected when the newspaper involved itself in the promotion of company interests, which became increasingly focused on international pop culture, especially on television. Thus a traditional hierarchical distinction between high and low/popular art at *Die Burger* was further undermined.

Naspers did not, however, completely forsake its original white Afrikaner constituency. Since 1995, company- sponsored projects included Afrikaans arts and culture festivals (reportedly to lift the spirit of Afrikaners after the formal loss of political power in 1994). But the aim of Naspers's involvement was now arguably more for commercial than cultural or political gain than in the past. More precisely, around Afrikaans, the economic capital of Naspers was intricately tied to the shifting levels of cultural and political capital. Thus arts journalists were faced with arts and culture initiatives in which Naspers tried to balance traditional Afrikaner interests with those of previously so-called coloured speakers. The fact that some arts journalists were often critical of the slow rate of integration in the language community did not endear them to company managers. They were thus side-lined by organisers and/or applied self-censorship.

The phenomenal rise of Afrikaans arts festivals in the 1990s also structurally influenced arts journalism at *Die Burger*. Because it became a combined project between editorial, advertising, and promotional departments, the arts desk was marginalised in the planning and execution of coverage. One arguably positive consequence -- that arts and culture became more newsworthy (in terms of page 1 presentation) -- did not hide the fact that the established and recognised relative independence of arts journalists within the newspaper structure were temporarily suspended around big annual events such as the KKNK. The arts festival phenomenon also pressured arts journalists to embrace popular tastes in Afrikaans music and theatre. Arts journalism became more commercialised or subject to commercial pressures due to the Afrikaans festivals.

In a few instances over the course of the decade, established, traditional high arts interests -- such as Naspers's extensive Afrikaans book publishing division -- also became the focus of controversy because of allegations of commoditisation from the artistic community (including the arts desk). This led to confrontation between the management of Naspers and the arts editor of *Die Burger* before the latter seemingly recanted somewhat in allowing the company to "put the record straight".

A similar incident occurred when the Naspers sponsored Stigting vir Afrikaans was criticised by Afrikaans writers and intellectuals on the arts page for its alleged reactionary agenda. The arts editor first tried to defend the relative independence of the arts page to present counter-hegemonic views publically -- but in the end still allowed the hegemonic view to be re-established in no uncertain terms by a senior representative of Naspers in a series of promotional articles on the arts page.

It is thus safe to say that when Naspers's commercial interests were threatened, especially in relation to its investment of economic and cultural capital in Afrikaans, the relative independence of the arts desk of *Die Burger* rapidly met its match in the 1990s.

Arts journalists were arguably also affected more or less directly by the relatively sudden demise of both apartheid-style artistic censorship and protest art against apartheid. Although in the 1990s artistic censorship arguably occurred less than before, arts journalists remained committed to the defense of artistic freedom on different levels. Afrikaans arts festivals organisers and local community leaders who pressured artists were often criticised in the

absence of frequent examples of formal state censorship. Protest art against apartheid, on the other hand, was quickly assigned to the margins as a search for a new target for protest to replace apartheid was launched. One can argue that the ambiguity which journalists experienced towards protest theatre during apartheid -- that it was valuable only if it was also considered to be "good" art -- played a role in critical discourses in the 1990s.

Although arts journalism in the 1990s thus lost some of its obvious political newsworthiness for a while, news selection around censorship and protest art were substituted in time with coverage of the so-called Africanisation of society. The study indicated that themes of reconciliation (between white and black artists and audiences) and crisis (about the perceived demise of Western traditions and values) alternated in arts journalism.

For arts journalists, the demise of protest art against apartheid led to an embrace of the international trend in arts journalism to explore so-called identity politics. In South Africa the impetus was tied to the realisation that along with shifts in political power, the cultural positioning of Afrikaners and Afrikaans speakers has shifted to the margins of a society dominated by a black African majority. (The fact that black Africans are also members of a range of overlapping minority groupings was not addressed here due to the specific focus on the Afrikaans cultural community). During Afrikaans arts festivals in the 1990s, some arts journalists were critical of the "navel gazing" amongst Afrikaans speakers because of alleged continued exclusionary and reactionary tendencies in that community. On the other hand, arts journalists remained supporters of the promotion of Afrikaans although not at the expense of what was termed reconciliation.

A discourse of reconciliation, which quickly became popular in the so-called new South Africa and also amongst arts journalists at *Die Burger,* centred on dissolving some of the boundaries of apartheid, especially between black and white (firstly inside the Afrikaans language community itself, but also in a national context). As part of a general educational thrust, it influenced the selection and processing of content of arts journalism. But the discourse of reconciliation was counter-balanced by a discourse of crisis around the restructuring of the arts and culture dispensation during the decade -- referred to as the discourse of Africanisation in this study.

All these discourses, the argument goes, depended on a central issue -- the view of arts journalists at *Die Burger* about the role of the arts (and arts journalism) in society. The study found that they shared a paradigm of the arts as universal and ideally somehow removed from the "dirty" realities of political, economic, and social life. This perspective did not preclude arts journalists from assigning a refining, even liberating role to the arts. Although, in line with the logic of the *avant-garde,* the mobilising influence of the arts was emphasised on a small scale -- often on the individual rather than group level. Collective influence was not ruled out completely as respondents described an ability of the arts to change perspectives at large. But the extent and nature were regarded as subtle, gradual, and subject to stronger contextual political currents.

7.2.2 How did arts journalists position themselves in relation to the official editorial view of Die Burger (1990-1999)?

Indications are that *Die Burger* seriously overestimated the ability and power of the NP to control the outcomes of the initiatives it had set in motion in 1990. The newspaper was therefore clearly frustrated when a strong federal system, which the NP had envisioned, did not materialise. The newspaper therefore argued that Afrikaners as a minority could not be adequately protected. The NP was also blamed for allegedly forsaking the cause of Afrikaans during the negotiation process. But instead of trying to reproduce its original historic role of the ethnical mobilisation of (white) Afrikaners (a strategy clearly at odds with the strategic direction of Naspers in the 1990s), *Die Burger* in the end focused on constantly highlighting the perceived threat to Afrikaans in a new dispensation (a strategy initiated and supported by Naspers). Arts journalists at *Die Burger* were therefore involved in projects around the promotion of Afrikaans on various levels (see above).

Occasionally, Dommisse's continued support for the NP influenced coverage on the arts page more directly. Content on the arts page reflected efforts to mobilise Afrikaners to support negotiation with the black majority in particular around the whites-only referendum in 1992. One must, however, also consider that the self-proclaimed anti-racist convictions of arts journalists arguably played a more significant role than support for the particular party who had called the referendum.

Still, this example of supportive coverage for a political process can be viewed as part of a self-appointed educational role of arts journalists that seemingly evolved during apartheid. It manifested then in the extensive coverage of so-called protest theatre, even though arts journalists thought that it might not have been of that much interest to a politically conservative Afrikaner readership at the time. In this way, the arts desk mirrored the political desk who also considered themselves engaged in a discursive struggle with the conservative Afrikaner right-wing during apartheid and in the early 1990s.

Continued support for the the NP in the 1990s probably influenced Dommisse's opposition to the TRC, which he regarded as a witch hunt of Afrikaners. Consequently, the editor also ignored the editorial tradition of little interference with the arts desk and took the writer of a theatre review to task because he suggested that Afrikaners shared "collective guilt" because of apartheid. This incident indicated the political boundaries of the relative independence of the arts desk as well as some of the mechanism of journalistic censorship, which in turn often led to self-censorship.

Along with the unbanning in 1990 of political parties, including the ANC and its alliance partner the SACP, alternative political discourses were introduced more formally into the public domain of South African society. But *Die Burger* intensified its demonisation of communism as part of a strategy to discredit the ANC. Although arts journalists were rather critical of anti-communist discourses in general, they shared some apprehension that a future ANC-led government might be restrictive of free speech and artistic independence. The continued call from the ANC to adhere to a cultural boycott during the early part of the decade arguably strengthened the perception of some arts journalists that not all fears regarding the influence of communism on a future South Africa were far-fetched.

But the study also showed that arts journalists in the main did not investigate the cultural boycott strategically. Probably a stronger element in their shared opposition to the cultural boycott was a general distrust and dislike of artistic censorship *per se*. In this regard, arts journalists shared the logic of the *avant-garde* with many artists -- in other words the idea that the arts must always remain free to challenge hegemonic mainstream ideas and values. Arts journalists in the 1990s therefore continued a tradition which originated during apartheid of formulating and circulating consistent anti-censorship discourses, often still aimed critically at conservative Afrikaners.

But arts journalists also transferred a typical suspicion of powerful politicians to the new ANC-led government, black officials, and interest groups who were often described in similar terms as their NP predecessors: as ignorant of the arts and/or generally adverse to artistic freedom. This discursive position was probably strengthened by other hegemonic apartheid discourses, such as the one on anti-communism described above, and even (despite their self-proclaimed open-mindedness) residual racism. These and other similar sources also arguably influenced discourses around Africanisation in the 1990s -- to which the discussion will now turn.

7.2.3 How did arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) contribute to existing and/or new hierarchies of discursive power through cultural distinctions in a changing society?

The criteria of judgment of taste which arts journalists employed as the consecrators of arts and entertainment were discussed in Chapter 5. Part of their criteria of judgments was a perspective on high and low/popular arts, as well as the position of African art in a Western-dominated paradigm.

In the main, arts journalists were sensitive to the controversial modernist distinction of (superior) high art and (inferior) low/popular art. Various possible reasons, including both their agency and the structures around arts journalists, came to light.

Their (partial) rejection of a clear hierarchy between high and popular art can firstly be ascribed to a personal trajectory -- in other words, it was part of their habitus. Many arts journalists were trained on a tertiary level, often in literature and drama, and also in the fine arts. They arguably kept abreast of some broad developments such as, for instance, postmodern trends in which the high-low art distinction was questioned. Furthermore many arts journalists developed both so-called classical (high) and popular tastes before and during their term at *Die Burger* (also as part of popularising trends in society). Arts journalists also internalised a typical journalistic distaste to academic intellectualism.

Secondly, on a more structural level, the beat system of specialists and enthusiasts in the arts desk operated to keep a distinction between high and popular arts/entertainment alive. But because it was applied flexibly according to situation, interest, talent, and training, many arts

journalists regularly crossed the high-popular divide. This dynamic arguably worked against any instinct or inclination to keep the traditional distinction completely intact.

That does not mean that no hierarchy remained. Arts journalists consecrated arts and entertainment according to a range of criteria of quality (good and bad). Their instrument of judgment was considered to be based on personal background and biases (habitus) and the level and training and exposure to a particular field (cultural capital). They also departed from often unstated departure points related to the logic of the *avant-garde*, for instance that the arts were a threatened treasure trove of minority sophistication and intelligence, which have to be protected and propagated in the interest of the well-being of humanity as a whole. The arts in this ideal conception exist magically removed not only from daily political realities but also from economic pressures.

Commercialisation and commoditisation were thus seriously frowned upon, even if it sometimes ran counter to the logic of popular art and entertainment (in which the numbers -- in all its different meanings -- count). Group habitus, as it developed through the discourses, practices, and traditions of the arts desk, seemingly also supported the sustained search for a type of elitist essentialist quality, even in evaluating decidedly popular genres such as American and British pop music and Hollywood films.

Their engrained Western orientation in high and popular arts meant that arts journalists found it difficult, if not impossible, not to regard what they identified as African art as an unknown and inferior "Other" (in a post-colonial sense). They countered related colonial prejudices by inviting multi-racial participation (from artists and audiences) but often without re-consideration the basis of their taken for granted judgments of taste. In other words, black art and artists could/should join the mainstream artistic community, but only on "merit" -- they had to produce art of "universal" quality. Arts journalists at *Die Burger* often reacted angrily when faced with a commercially driven arts establishment which was eager to show its willingness to "transform" its apartheid structures and practices by including scores of black artists. They quickly labeled many of these developments as politically correct subservience to a new ideology. In other words, it offended their sensibilities that the universal arts did not remain removed from political squabbles.

7.2.4 What do the discourses and practices of arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) reveal about their role as manufacturers of cultural capital in a society in transition to democracy?

After considering the three specific research questions above, it is clear that arts journalism at *Die Burger* was part of discursive power struggles in the 1990s and arguably contributed to (re-)structuring processes in post-apartheid society. It is the contention here that the considerable contribution of this study is a new and insightful understanding of that role -- as the following summary will show.

Arts journalists at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) manufactured cultural capital in different ways. Firstly, they contributed to the knowledge and insight of readers; secondly, they added to the status of their editors and owners; and thirdly, they competed for personal recognition and rewards. When significant power shifts occurred on different levels in South Africa in the 1990s, the nature and distribution patterns of cultural capital changed, and cultural capital arguably became influential in the changing power dynamics. But how exactly was cultural capital affected?

On a first level, a general and relatively liberal political positioning of arts journalist at *Die Burger* against apartheid and racism was maintained in a discourse of reconciliation. Although arts journalists were critical of the artistic merit of so-called protest art during apartheid, they seemingly employed it as an educational tool aimed at conservative white Afrikaners. In the 1990s, the educational role was maintained, and still aimed at conservative white Afrikaners, but with a focus on so-called postmodern identity politics -- for instance the rights of gay and lesbian minorities and instances of censorship of the arts. But at the same time, the position of Afrikaners and Afrikaans as minorities in a new political dispensation led to tension within arts journalism at *Die Burger* because of suspicion of mobilisation efforts around the language, often organised and promoted by the newspaper and its owner themselves.

Thus, on occasion, arts journalists engaged in protest discourses aimed at the political and cultural strategies of *Die Burger* and Naspers: For example around the TRC, Afrikaans arts festivals, and the Naspers initiative of the Stigting vir Afrikaans [Afrikaans language foundation]. This was counter-balanced by discourses of promotion for company and

newspaper interests (sometimes under direct pressure of management) and discourses of crisis around the contested issues of the international cultural boycott and the Africanisation of culture after 1990. In these two examples mentioned above, the discourses of crisis of arts journalists and political journalists showed some clear overlaps. One can thus argue that the traditional cultural capital of arts journalists as manufacturers of counter-hegemonic discourses was probably at times negatively affected in the 1990s.

On a second level, arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) became part of the political-economic strategy of the newspaper and its owner (as indicated above). Although arts journalists resisted discursively and in practice within limits, they could not entirely escape a promotional role. Along with the restructuring and commodification of the field of arts journalism under pressure from neigbouring fields, the levels and nature of cultural capital attached to arts journalism as independent of owners and managers were arguably negatively affected. In others words, the power of arts journalists to control the selection and consecration of artists and artifacts was diminished in the 1990s, especially around Afrikaans arts festivals when other departments of the newspaper were involved to ensure blanket coverage for these events.

On a third level, the cultural capital of arts journalists was arguably influenced by changing patterns of journalism education and training. In the 1990s, arts journalists (white males in the majority) at *Die Burger* increasingly followed a similar trajectory through university. They competed with their peers for recognition and awards (in different forms), but they also influenced each others' tastes and values about art. During the 1990s, discourses of Africanisation were often circulated and contested, and it influenced both the discursive positioning and practices of arts journalists. In short, although arts journalists were at times critical of the call for Africanisation, they inevitably adapted to the changing environment.

Critical distinctions (changing definitions of what "good" art entail) became part of the habitus of arts journalists and contributed to the restructuring of the field of arts journalism itself. Part of the habitus of arts journalists was also a tradition of relative editorial independence, which meant in practice the selection and presentation of topics, artists, art works, and views that were often excluded by the news desk on political or moral grounds. But instances of self-sensorship by art journalists also occurred in the 1990s in reaction to and in recognition of the clear boundaries within which the independence of arts journalism

operated at *Die Burger*. The fact that arts journalists professed a conception of the arts as universal and somewhat removed from actuality arguably contributed to this mechanism of containment. They were therefore also uncertain how to deal with the growing tensions and pressures due to the increased commercialisation of arts journalism. On the positive side the continued commitment of arts journalists to non-commercial "humanist" values permitted the inclusion of some unpopular and controversial counter-hegemonic views in the public arena.

In the end -- as an overall response to the general research question about the role of arts journalists in a society in transition to democracy -- it was thus established that arts journalists at *Die Burger* were actively embroiled in discursive struggles of stabilisation and change during the period of transition in the 1990s. Although it impossible to establish the extent of their influence on colleagues and audiences, the centrality and importance of their role should not be denied.

7.3 Theoretical contribution

The application of Bourdieuan field theory to the South African context was enriched by this study on at least two fronts.

Firstly, the idea of cultural capital became far more flexible and, in addition, applicable to post-colonial societies in transition that are far removed from the French society in which the theory originated. In this way, the role of arts journalists as agents of change can arguably be far better evaluated in the future. The re-conceptualisation of cultural capital further strengthened the insight that arts journalism was not on the margins of society and should not be regarded as such in journalism.

Secondly, the study investigated the possibility that field theory can become an even stronger tool for journalism research with the inclusion of aspects from Foucault's discourse theory. In the process, the study aimed for a nuanced view of not only Bourdieu and Foucault in terms of accepted views about categorisations such as modern, postmodern, and post-structural but arguably also about these categories, and the practices of categorisation, themselves. The argument is not that traditional notions of the perceived incompatibility of different paradigms have thus been positively overcome. But maybe this study has explored the way somewhat to open the door to the development of a particular version of critical discourse analysis (CDA),

which combined the strengths of Bourdieu and Foucault and eliminated some of their perceived weaknesses.

7.4 Methodological contribution

The version of CDA developed in Chapter 4 rested centrally on the conception that journalistic texts (defined in its broadest sense) are part of discursive struggles for power in society. The work of a leading theorist in CDA, Norman Fairclough, who was strongly influenced by both Foucault and Bourdieu, provided the impetus. Thus Foucault's focus on the text as a structuring source of power remained important, but Bourdieu's plea to include the context of discourse was also accepted.

In this study, arts journalism was theorised in the context of much larger processes of power and influence in South African society during the transition to democracy and too close a textual analysis would not suffice. An overtly contextual version of CDA was thus practically the best method once the research focus, a decade of arts journalism at *Die Burger,* was established.

Chapter 4 showed that the level of theoretical confusion around CDA as a research method was significant/far-reaching. Variations were seemingly endless, and one could ask whether it made any sense to add another one (as this study arguably did in its particular application of Van Dijk's method). But given the opposition to mechanical categorisation expressed in this study, the methodological framework (including the inductively generated themes and categories) is thus not to be regarded and treated as a new blue print of CDA for (arts) journalism. The categories remain closely tied to the particular context of this study. But still the framework certainly provides a sound methodological departure point for future research in arts journalism in similar or different settings. In fact, the continuous adaptation and evolution of existing methods according to a particular purpose are essential if findings are not to be considered overly pre-determined in qualitative research.

7.5 Coda

In sum, this study has contributed on three levels to journalism studies: empirical, theoretical, and methodological. In view of the worrying lack of research on arts journalism

internationally and in South Africa, this study has enriched a particular focus area in the field. It has shown that arts journalism was a key area in which many discursive struggles of a community intersected. Arts journalism was a central domain in which these struggles of vision and division about a different future occurred. The arts and arts journalism were not removed from political, economic, and social life, but formed part of it.

Arts journalists in South Africa should take note that they do not strengthen their own isolation and perceptions of irrelevance through their adherence to outdated colonial conceptions of the arts and a host of elitists' criteria of judgment of taste. In the 1990s, this particular stance rendered most arts journalists at *Die Burger* rather unprepared to respond coherently to a host of sudden shifts in society, including commercialisation and Africanisation. Arts journalists were arguably not thinking strategically enough -- some were probably too young and impulsive and others too set in their ways. Still, as predicated by the theoretical departure points, arts journalists contributed to both the stabilisation of hegemonic discourses and in creating and circulating discourses of change.

Although this study does not aim to generalise its findings or to transpose it to the present, the literature review indicated that the main trends observed in the 1990s transcended that decade well into the 21st century. But the proposal presented then (that an analysis of the 1990s would probably throw light of the origins of some of the current ills in arts journalism) has been substantiated. Since 1999, the rise of commercialism in journalism had overwhelmed traditional notions of arts journalism. In the process some arts journalists of the early 21st century reportedly found it difficult to differentiate between a promotional role and what they conceive of as their ideal professional role. Africanisation as a guiding concept of cultural restructuring and enrichment also remained problematic in arts journalism discourse because of *inter alia* the increased spread and domination of Anglo-American pop culture in non-Western contexts.

Although the aim of this study is not to suggest remedies, one can argue that a new intellectual framework for arts journalism in South Africa is still needed. In this truly equalitarian concept, the so-called arts would not be distinguished from entertainment. Quality would be regarded as totally subjective and personal. Levels of elite cultural capital and habitus would thus not be used as a power tool to consecrate certain artifacts and artists and exclude others. Alliances between dominant political, economic, cultural, and social

groups and mainstream journalists against marginalised social classes and interests would be avoided. Lastly, entrenched conceptions of the arts as either Western or African could be re-examined with the view to discover and nurture hybridity. In particular, the place and role of indigenous languages -- often marginalised as part of the exercise of knowledge/power through the arts and arts journalism -- should be re-examined in such a new hybridised framework for South African arts journalism.

Such a proposed future research project should build on the main contribution of this study -- the illustration of the importance of arts journalism at *Die Burger* during a decade of profound change through a thorough excavation of different relations of discursive power.

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Dommisse, E. 2010. Personal interview with former editor of *Die Burger*. Cape Town, 25 November.

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DB, 1990/01/12:6 – Joubert, E. 1990. Kruip, gryp – Clegg kap dit uit. *Die Burger*, 12 January: 6.

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DB, 1991/04/10:9 – Dommisse, E.1991. Afwyking van kommunisme lei tot vooruitgang in China. *Die Burger*,10 April: 9.

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DB, 1991/04/17:12 – Anon.1991. Rede vir optimisme. *Die Burger*, 17 April:12.

DB, 1991/04/17:4 – Kooij, P. 1991. Duitse orkes speel ’n barshou. *Die Burger*, 17 April: 4.

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DB, 1991/04/20:9 – Anon. 1991. Masekela-hulle toer deur land. *Die Burger*, 20 April: 9.

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DB, 1991/05/04: 12 – Anon. 1991. Strukture van apartheid moet verdwyn. *Die Burger*, 4 May:12.

DB, 1991/05/04:1 – Anon. 1991. Pers lei aksie vir Afrikaans. *Die Burger*, 4 May: 1.

DB, 1991/05/04:13 – Anon. 1991. Persbaas waarsku oor Afrikaans se status: Kwade dag as sprekers sou saamstaan in verset. *Die Burger*, 4 May:13.

DB, 1991/05/06:10 – Anon.1991. Afrikaans herontdek. *Die Burger*, 6 May:10.

DB, 1991/05/10: 13 – Martin, M.1991. Suid-Afrika moet besin oor kulturele prioriteite. *Die Burger*, 10 May:13.

DB, 1991/05/11: 12 – Oujongkêrel. 1991. Museum verloor bemaking ná hoof se uitlatinge. *Die Burger*, 11 May: 12.

DB, 1991/05/16:12 – Anon. 1991. Kulturele Boiket. *Die Burger*, 16 May:12.

DB, 1991/05/18:4 – Le Roux, A. 1991. Albie Sachs: Maak gebruik van 'selektiewe' boikot. *Die Burger*, 18 May: 4.

DB, 1991/06/3:2 – Anon. 1991. Breyten gas van SA ambassade in Parys. *Die Burger*, 3 June: 2.

DB, 1991/06/4:8 – Anon. 1991. Cape Flats-spelers maak hul debuut in Nico Malan. *Die Burger*, 4 June: 8.

DB, 1991/06/4:11 – Le Roux, A. 1991. Die stille beraad daar onder die bome by Broederstroom laat 'n mens wonder. *Die Burger*, 4 June: 11.

DB, 1991/06/22:6 – Joubert, E. 1991. Julle weet nie wat julle misgeloop het nie. *Die Burger*, 22 June: 6.

DB, 1991/07/03:6 – Van den Berg, Z. 1991. Kragtoere van geduld en noukeurige kuns-werk. *Die Burger*, 3 July: 6.

DB, 1991/07/10:4 – Engelbrecht, T. 1991.Serote: Kultuur is nie-rassig. *Die Burger*, 10 July: 4.

DB, 1991/ 07/16:9 – Jacobs, S. 1991. 'Nuwe Woordelys maak Afrikaans net moeiliker'. *Die Burger Ekstra-Skole*, 16 July: 9.

DB, 1991/07/19:12 – Anon. 1991. Kulturele isolasie verminder. *Die Burger*, 19 July: 12.

DB, 1991/08/03:4 – Grütter, W.1991. Die dae van 'etniese' uitsaai is nou verby. *Die Burger*, 3 August: 4.

DB, 1991/09/04:12 – Dawie.1991. Magsdeling moet die resep vir toekomstige SA wees. *Die Burger*, 4 September:12.

DB, 1991/09/10:8 – Meiring, E.1991. Intellektuele se flirtasie met die leuen van Kommunisme. *Die Burger*, 10 September: 8.

DB, 1991/09/24:16 – Anon.1991. Ondiens aan die kunste. *Die Burger*, 24 September: 16.

DB, 1991/09/27:2 – Anon. 1991. NP gebruik sélf al jare kultuur vir gewin – ANC. *Die Burger*, 27 September: 2.

DB, 1991/10/04:1 - Anon.1991. Gordimer wen Nobelprys – eerste SA skrywer. *Die Burger*, 4 October: 1.

DB, 1991/10/14:4 - Walter, S.1991. UK se Afrika-ballet staan uit. *Die Burger*, 14 October: 4.

DB, 1991/10/18:12 – Scholtz, L.1991. Moenie skaam voel oor Westerse identiteit nie. *Die Burger*, 18 October: 12.

DB, 1991/10/31:4 – Stead, R.1991. Vrae oor kunste-bewaring: Verbyster oor 'agteruitgang en RGN se 'belangeloosheid'. *Die Burger*, 31 October: 4.

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DB, 1991/12/05:18 – Anon. Godsdiensvryheid. *Die Burger*, 5 Desember:18.

DB, 1992/01/08:1 – Anon. 1992. Super-Simon kom aan. *Die Burger*, 8 January: 1.

DB, 1992/01/09:11 – Engelbrecht, T. 1992. Paul Simon het trefferplate in roemryke loopbaan ingeryg. *Die Burger*, 9 January: 11.

DB, 1992/01/09:10 – Anon. 1992. Paul Simon se besoek. *Die Burger*, 9 January: 10.

DB, 1992/01/13:1 – Anon. 1992. Geen geweld by Paul Simon se konserte ondanks dreigemente. *Die Burger*, 13 January: 1.

DB, 1992/01/18:10 – Anon. 1992. Musiek met ordentlikheid. *Die Burger*, 18 January: 10.

DB, 1992/01/28:1 – Blom, H. [Photographer]. 1992. 'Son-kring' se Anna-Mart kom in Kaap aan. *Die Burger*, 28 January: 1.

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DB, 1992/02/07:1a – Kunsredakteur. 1992. Triënnale verloor Rembrandt-borgskap. *Die Burger*, 7 February: 1.

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DB, 1992/02/08:1 – Ralph, S. [Photographer]. 1992. Elma sê Naweekjoernaal is puik. *Die Burger*, 8 February:1.

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DB, 1992/03/16:4 – Anon. 1992. Hef almal aan, sê Koos Kombuis. *Die Burger*, 16 March: 4.

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DB, 1999/09/22:14 – Anon. 1999. SABC is 'n breker. *Die Burger*, 22 September: 14.

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Addendum A

Modernism and postmodernism

A literature review indicates that modernity and modernism, on the one hand, and postmodernity and postmodernism on the other, are also seriously contested concepts. In short, we are faced with vagueness and complexity.

Laughey (2007:202-204) defines modernism as "an artistic, literary and critical tradition of experimental work (*circa* 1890-1940) that cherishes individual creativity in opposition to the hostile consequences of modernity". Modernity is "the social, economic and technological developments that have characterized the transition from traditional (pre-modern) to advanced (modern) civilisations". Building on that, postmodernism is "an artistic, literary and cultural tradition (emerging during the middle of the twentieth century) that has supplanted 'high' modernism and embraced 'the popular'. Postmodernity is the social, economic, political and technological developments that have characterized the transition from modern to newly-organized ways of life that are typically associated with globalization and the rise of mass culture, media and communications technology".

In general then, modernism and postmodernism refer to different cultural traditions or movements while modernity and postmodernity describe the "period or quality" (Masey, 2001:259) or "particular attributes" (Abercrombie *et al.*, 2006: 252) of the society in which that specific tradition occurred. It must be added, however, that these relationships are contested on different levels, as the following discussion will illustrate.

There is a measure of general agreement that modernity followed from traditional (pre-modern) civilisations. Much sociological work "is based on the assumption of a sharp divide between pre-modern and modern societies" (Abercrombie *et al.*, 2006: 252-253). Typically, modern societies have "industrial, capitalist economies, democratic political organization and a social structure founded on a division into social classes", but there is "less agreement on cultural features, which are said to include a tendency to fragmentation of experience, a commodification and rationalization of all aspects of life, and a speeding up in the pace of daily life" (Abercrombie *et al.*, 2006: 253). They also state that modernity required "new systems of individual surveillance, discipline and control", that it emphasised "regularity and

measurement in everyday life" and that its values include "activism, universalism and affective neutrality" (*ibid.*).

Modernism, according to Abercrombie & Longhurst (2007), Abercrombie *et al.* (2006) and Macey (2001), was a cultural and artistic reaction to both the realist tradition that preceded it and the conditions of modernity. It emphasised experimental form and function (particularly in architecture) and reached its highpoint in the first half of the 20th century.

According to Macey (2001:307-308), the debate about postmodernity and postmodernism is "characterized by a degree of chronological and conceptual confusion", but postmodernity "usually refers to a historical period subsequent to modernity, whilst postmodernism tends to refer to the cultural and above all artistic manifestations of that period". Abercrombie and Longhurst (2007:277) state that some analysts have argued that especially capitalist societies in the West have entered a period of postmodernity, "characterized by the fragmentation of the system of social classes, the emergence of consumer society, post-Fordist systems of production and marketing and a declining role for the state in economic and social life". According to them "many theories of postmodernity give cultural factors a central role" and "[T]the media are seen as central to everyday life in a manner impossible in previous societies" (*ibid.*).

Denzin & Giardina (2009:27) summarise postmodernity as follows:

> The postmodern is what follows the modern. It represents a historical period, extending from World War II to the present. It has been called the cultural logic of late capitalism, a cultural logic focussed on the hypperreal, on the commodity and the commodification of experience. Postmodernism represents a turn away from positivism in the social sciences. This leads to an intense preoccupation with the logics and apparatuses of representation, and legitimation, including a critique of scientific reason. In its poststructural versions, it represents an attempt to formulate empowerment agendas that would give voice to silenced persons. This involves the development of a politics of resistance that would contest the repressive features of postmodern culture. Methodologically, it urges radical experimentations with new ways of writing and performing culture and personal experience.

It would seem that, in this view, poststructuralism is a "version" of postmodernism. It is, however, not clear from this which other "versions" of postmodernism could be identified. (To add to the confusion, the discussion above also shows that some scholars argue for the existence of a postmodern version of poststructuralism.)

Macey (2001:307) situates the "key postmodernism text" in "philosophical terms" as Jean-Francois Lyotard's *Postmodern Condition*, published in 1979. In that book Lyotard "associated the postmodern primarily with contemporary incredulity to the grand narratives of progress, socialism and the Enlightenment" (*ibid.*). Macey adds that Lyotard's "rejection of grand narratives unsettles the stability of traditional notions of reason and rationality" (*ibid.*). Macey (2001:306) summarises that an "emphasis on the playful and popularity is a frequent theme in discussions of postmodernism, and a reminded that one of the objections to the modern has always been that it is 'difficult'".

That does not mean that the relationship between modernism and postmodernism is one of clear opposition. Despite the differences referred to above, Abercrombie *et al*. (2006:302) argue that "the two movements share many...features...and...they are probably both best seen as artistic avant-gardes which have to separate themselves off from conventional artistic practice only to become conventional themselves in time". (As this study indicated, the role of the *avant-garde* indeed features strongly in Bourdieu's cultural theory.)

The relationship between postmodernism and postmodernity is also not as straight forward as one would think. According to Abercrombie et al (2006: 302) it is not clear "whether the former is the culture of the latter" and whether both "represent genuinely new cultural and social forms or whether they are merely transitional phenomena produced by rapid social change". The result is that postmodernism has been the subject of a continued critical debate.

Criticisms include that postmodernism is in fact "an anti-modernism that betrays the promise of modernity by retreating into a wildly eclectic irrationalism...and a culture of narcissism" (Macey, 2001:307) tied to extreme commodification. Macey (2001:307) then refers to the work of Frederick Jameson, "one of the most thorough historians of the idea of the postmodern" for whom (*ibid.*):

> ...postmodernism represents the cultural logic of a period of late capitalism in which commodity fetishism has become so extreme that it is the commodification process itself that is being consumed.

Pertinent to the transition from apartheid and colonialism to democracy in South Africa, against which this study is situated, Macey (2001:307) states that "some black writers", such as Gilroy, have pointed out the "seeming complacency with which Lyotard announces the demise of grand narratives, pointing out that the grand narrative of *their* emancipation has by no means come to an end" (original emphasis). But Macey (2001:307) highlights the fact that defenders of postmodernism argue that it affords "liberation from a rationality that has....became an 'iron cage', and is ushering in an era of relativism and a welcome pluralism".

In sum, it is thus recognised that the depiction of a move from traditional/pre-industrial to modern/industrial and postmodern/post-industrial is only one of a host of possible theoretical descriptions of cultural traditions tied to shifting historical paradigms. Especially contested is determining the historic epoch at the end of the 20th century on which this study focuses and in which free-market capitalism was seemingly the dominant global paradigm after the demise of the Soviet-Union and the communist/socialist block. Descriptions range -- as was indicated above -- from postmodernity to late-capitalism (Lane 2000) and late-modernity (Scott, 2007b:98). Ultimately, one is thus inclined to agree with one of the most famous, and commonly regarded, poststructural postmodernists (or, if you will, postmodern poststructuralist) -- who incidentally rejected these labels in his time -- Michel Foucault (1990:35) who stated:

> Here I think, we are touching on one of the forms – perhaps we should call them habits – one of the most harmful habits in contemporary thought, in modern thought even; at any rate, in a post-Hegelian thought: the analysis of the present as being precisely, in history, a present of rupture, or of high point, or of completion or of a returning dawn, etc. The solemnity with which everyone who engages in philosophical discourse reflects on his own time strikes me as a flaw.

Apparently, Lane (2000:6) agrees with Foucault and at first tries to resist the temptation of these vague and contested terms in stating that Bourdieu's positioning varies in relation to

postmodernism or poststructuralism depending upon the particular definitions of these terms by individual critics. This leads Lane (2000) to question "whether the two terms have any real explanatory or analytical value" (p.6). It therefore comes as a surprise that Lane nonetheless defines and retains these concepts in his analysis for practical purposes -- because critics "continue to use them to situate, criticise or praise Bourdieu's work (*ibid.*).

Lane (2000:7) situates Bourdieu within "late capitalism", defined (against Frederick Jameson's contention that it is related to postmodernism) as "an eminently *modernist* tool for theorising the development of postwar Western capitalism" (original emphasis).Thus, by falling back to the predictable dichotomy between modernism and postmodernism (and in casting Bourdieu with the former), Lane (2000) passes over an opportunity to follow Bourdieu and occupy a more complex theoretical middle ground and possibly break new ground. But a move in that direction would require good motivation (more about this in the following discussion). Besides, in this study particularly, the combination of Bourdieu and Foucault in a theoretical framework already adds a good measure of nuance and complexity. In other words, besides the seemingly problematic move to combine elements from Bourdieu and Foucault, this study also has to reconcile their (perceived) respective modern and postmodern characteristics.

Bourdieu and Foucault

Confusion reigns in the debate on where (and whether) the work of Bourdieu and Foucault should be situated in relation to the vague and complex concepts of modernism and postmodernism/poststructuralism. Add to this the fact that both Bourdieu and Foucault have vehemently rejected all efforts to attach any of these labels to their intellectual output, and the scale must tip in favour of disregarding most or even all of them. Still, as Lane (2000) argues after weighing up the same options, it is difficult to disregard a whole body of literature which merrily use and abuse these terms on a daily basis in discussions of Bourdieu (and, one could add, Foucault).

One therefore cannot simply buck the trend and ignore the modern/postmodern debate completely while arguing that the relevant aspects of Bourdieu and Foucault's work for this study must be treated on their own terms and can be willfully combined at the risk of general condemnation. However attractive this last option appears to be, it is a risk I am not prepared

to take.Firstly, Bourdieu fiercely criticised and purposely distanced himself from Foucault's work (and/or a certain postmodern reception thereof) while Foucault questioned the very basis of the social scientific domain -- and thus the grounds on which Bourdieu's intellectual project was built.

As background to the discussion of the theoretical relationship between Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault, a brief comparative biographical overview will now be conducted. An overview of their respective intellectual histories (see Macey, 2004; Lane, 2000) reveals that both scholars entertained Marxist sympathies in their youth, were strongly influenced by structuralism, and retained an enduring critical and left political positioning throughout their lives. Before Bourdieu turned to sociology, both were trained in philosophy in France in the mid-twentieth century. In fact, Callewaert (2006) argues strongly that Bourdieu's "desertion" of philosophy not only influenced his own work and relation to Foucault but also the reception of his work at home and abroad (more about this later).

Foucault supported the election of Bourdieu at the Collège de France in 1981. Callewaert (2006:73) states that "not everybody knew that they were not only colleagues at the Collège de France, but also personal friends" (see also Johnson, 1993:1). Together they shared a militant commitment in social affairs (Callewaert, 2006:74) and sometimes worked together, for example during a campaign against what was regarded as the reactionary politics of President François Mitterrand (Macey, 2004:138). When Foucault died on 25 June 1984 at the age of 57, Bourdieu was invited to write the eulogy for the esteemed newspaper *Le Monde* (Callewaert, 2006:73).

Interestingly, as far as can be established (see Callewaert, 2006:75), Foucault did not comment on the work of Bourdieu in any of his writings, thus possibly confirming Callewaert's (2006:81) view that "even Foucault" (and other philosophers who "shared a certain anti-institutional mentality", like the neo-Marxist Louis Althusser) "despised" the social sciences.

In contrast, Bourdieu occasionally commented on Foucault in public (Callewaert, 2006) and more frequently after the death of Foucault. According to Boschetti (2006:142-3), Bourdieu considered Foucault's death as a loss that weakened the front of independent intellectuals. After that, Bourdieu expressed himself more frequently in his writings and in public on the

"role of the counter-power of intellectuals" (p. 143). In the second edition of *Homo Academicus* (1990) Bourdieu explicitly discussed his and Foucault's position in the academic field in 1967. Using his field theory, Bourdieu sociologically analyses their different positions against the background of their respective career trajectories in the light of their social origin, personal characteristics, and interaction with the political and professional field.

Especially in the period 1992-2002, Bourdieu's critique of Foucault increased, according to Callewaert (2006:74), for a specific reason in the context of changes in society at that time. Callewaert (2006:75) states that aspects of Foucault work were used for the promotions of "an idealistic and subjectivist radical relativism" that Bourdieu apparently disliked. He elaborates (2006:74):

> Bourdieu knew that a certain reception of Foucault was a reference for the discourses he wanted to fight on the different levels. A certain vulgarized reception of Foucault's work was used in faculties of humanities as the inspiration for discourse theories, radical relativism in scientific matters, social constructionism, theories declaring that 'governmentality' has replaced class rule, etc.

Callewaert (2006:74) labels the changes in society to which Bourdieu was reacting the "neo-liberal turn" -- summarised as "the claim that advanced capitalism was the natural state of humanity" -- with the disclaimer that he is confident that the reader "accepts the label (neo-liberal) just as a signal". He then continues (*ibid.*):

> As a scientist, an intellectual and a citizen Bourdieu fought with all means the neo-liberal turn; he viewed the neo-liberal turn as a combined and consciously prepared move in international politics and economy, social relations and government, funding and implementation of higher education and research.

Bourdieu, critic of Foucault: Sociology versus philosophy

Callewaert (2006:73-74) states that Bourdieu and Foucault are often presented in many "undergraduate papers, graduate and postgraduate theses, manuals and monographs" as pertaining to the "same cluster of sociologists related to the so-called French historical

epistemology, structuralism and postmodernism, even if some aspects of their work are different". In arguing against this approach Callewaert (2006:74) states:

> The basic issue obscured by this approach is that Foucault was not a sociologist nor a social scientist, but a philosopher and a specialist of the history of sciences and knowledge, questioning the very possibility of social science...

Callewaert (2006) partially builds his argument on his own field theory analysis of the French academic field that Bourdieu and Foucault shared during a large part of the twentieth century. In short, Callewaert (2006) argues that Bourdieu's relationship with philosophy, and the positioning of philosophy in relation to other disciplines, influenced his intellectual work (see also Boschetti [2006] for a similar argument). After training in philosophy -- the hegemonic discipline at the time -- Bourdieu and Foucault, as new entrants, found themselves on the fringes of academia. While Foucault and others went on to challenge and change the traditional structures and views of philosophy from within, Bourdieu joined the enemy -- the social sciences. In the eyes of philosophy, argues Callewaert (2006), Bourdieu never regained the status he willing forsake. To make matters worse, in Bourdieu's view Foucault questioned the very validity of the discipline he turned to. According to Callewaert (2006:74):

> ....even if both researchers wanted to transcend or transgress established boundaries of academic subjects to a certain extent, Bourdieu's critique of Foucault addresses precisely this specific type of philosophical critique of the social sciences as sciences.

Consequently, Bourdieu displays in his criticism of Foucault his "deep mistrust of philosophy" -- according to Callewaert (2006:75) -- especially the "double game" of questioning the possibility of empirical science, without "paying the price of learning the craft, and without turning the same critique against philosophy as well". Callewaert (2006:77) summarises the thesis of Bourdieu's criticism of Foucault as follows:

> ...by revolting against academic philosophy – but maintaining the validity of the philosophical discourse in order to put radically in question the validity of the human and social empirical sciences – [Foucault] contributes to the

> establishment of radical relativism in epistemology and the sociology of science.

According to Callewaert (2006:84-85), Bourdieu felt that his turn against philosophy and defence of the social sciences as sciences explained why he was "constantly displaced in relation to the postmodernism of the university campuses, and in relation to the reception of his work in the USA". Boschetti (2006:146) argues that while Bourdieu questions the "charismatic vision of culture as it brings to light the role of agents and their struggles", so-called postmodern thinkers such as "Foucault, Derrida, Lyotard and Baudrillard ignore them". She continues (*ibid.*):

> Therefore their thought matches well the textualist strand and the nihilistic critique of the social sciences which have proliferated in North American academic field in the name of 'linguistic turn' and postmodernism.

According to Callewaert (2006), Bourdieu thus criticises Foucault's theory of discourse on two counts. Firstly Bourdieu considers it "similar to that of the Russian formalists or the structuralist linguists like Saussure in their absolute separation of language and speech", and secondly he disagrees with its "absolute internalism concerning the question of whether external factors can play a role in the development of cultural works like for instance science" (Callewaert, 2006:78).

According to Callewaert (2006:79), Bourdieu's has a "realist vision of the scientific world and a realist theory of knowledge", which he directly contrasts with the postmodern and social constructionist tendencies he envisages in Foucault. But Weininger (2008:115) moderates this view somewhat by stating that Bourdieu aimed for the integration of structuralist and constructionist dimensions into a coherent programme of empirical research.

Callewaert (2006:78) proposes that Bourdieu was on the mark in criticising Foucauldian discourse analyses for its efforts to understand cultural production through an analysis of the productions themselves. In the preface of the English edition of *Homo Academicus* in 1988, Bourdieu was "anticipating by at least two decades the denunciation of a thesis that later on spread like a forest fire in the name of constructivism and discourse analysis" (Callewaert,

2006:78). (Norman Fairclough, one of the principle theorists of discourse analyses, in fact refers to Bourdieu in his motivation to introduce context to his theory -- see Chapter 4).

Thus, even Callewaert (2006:96), who in part positively re-evaluates Foucault's legacy (see discussion below), falls back on a somewhat pessimistic condemnation of Foucault (or to be more precise, some of his followers) in the end:

> Bourdieu is comprehending both agent and structure, both discourse and action, respecting not only their different but their antagonistic logic, and therefore he is not, like Foucault, exposed to the danger of promoting the devastating trend in the social sciences today, where the everlasting need to tone down science, positivism and behaviorism lead to the absurd idea that social practice is nothing but free construction of meaning.

The issue of the alleged structuralist denial of reality outside discourse in Foucault's theory seems to remain a major stumbling block between his theoretical positioning and that of Bourdieu.

Bridging the gap

Scholars such as Macfarlane (2008), Johnson (1993), and Wilkes (in Harker *et al.*, 1990:117), have suggested affinities between the work of Bourdieu and Foucault. Benson & Neveu (2005:10) position field theory away from some cultural theories ("at least those which portray symbolic systems as untethered from the social world") but not altogether from Foucault. They point to the fact that Bourdieu shares with Foucault "the relational understanding of language derived from Saussure that a work does not exist by itself, that is, outside relationships of interdependence which unite it to other works" (*ibid.*).

Saussurean linguistics posits that language has no inherent meaning. Meaning is therefore socially constructed by the relationship/difference between words. In other words, Benson & Neveau (2005:3) argue, that to "exist socially is to mark one's difference vis-à-vis others in an ongoing process that is enacted for the most part unconsciously without strategic intention". Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992:96-97) confirm the interpretation that, for Bourdieu, "what is real is relational" and that a field may thus be defined as a network, or a configuration, of

objective relations between positions". In others words, whatever the objections from both the scholars and their followers highlighted above, the structuralist heritage of both Bourdieu and Foucault seems apparent. Johnson [1993:4] refers to Bourdieu's field theory "genetic sociology or genetic structuralism".

The important point, however, is that this study accepts the contention by Robbins (2007) -- mentioned above -- that Bourdieu has deliberately positioned his theory away from structuralism (in the main by incorporating agency through the concept of habitus) in such a way that it can be regarded as his own version of a poststructuralist approach. Foucault, in turn, is commonly regarded as a poststructuralist (of the postmodern kind) who moved beyond structuralism.

But according to Bourdieu, Foucault did not really break with structuralism because he argued that Foucault kept on denying that there is reality outside language/discourse. In his criticism of Foucault, Bourdieu is clearly expressing a popular (and not altogether unfounded) view of Foucault as a structuralist. Foucault did lecture on structuralism (Macey, 2004:73) and his book *Les mots et les choses* (The order of things, 2002 [1970]) was regarded as "one of the Bibles of structuralism" (Macey, 2004:72) -- but to the great irritation of Foucault himself. In the forward to the English edition of *The order of things*, Foucault (2002 [1970]: xv) declares:

> In France, certain half-witted 'commentators' persists in labeling me a 'structuralist'. I have been unable to get it into their tiny minds that I have used none of the methods, concepts, or key terms that characterize structural analysis.

Although Foucault (2002 [1970]:xv) admits that "there may well be certain similarities between the work of the structuralists and my own work" because he is not claiming that "my discourse is independent of conditions and rules of which I am very largely aware", he re-iterates the view that structuralism is "an admittedly impressive-sounding, but inaccurate label" for his work. Macey (2004:72-73) echoes Foucault in claiming that the "perception" of structuralism in relation to Foucault is "somewhat mistaken" because Foucault "used the terminology of structuralism sparingly". He continues (2004:73):

> His own analysis use categories that are wider than 'sign' and focus upon 'discourse' – somewhat loosely defined as a rule-governed body of statements.

Thus it becomes clear that Bourdieu's criticism above of Foucault as a structuralist is based on a standard interpretation of the structuralism of de Saussure. However, Callewaert (2006:79) argues that an analysis of other works, such as *The birth of the clinic* ("where Foucault works with a sort of homology between external and internal factors for the explanation of the genesis of what he calls the 'clinical' paradigm in medicine") and "other writings of Foucault on knowledge and power" will show that Bourdieu is not giving Foucault his due.

In fact, a number of scholars (see May & Powell, 2007; Callewaert, 2006; Callinicos, 1989) provide support for the view that Bourdieu may have underestimated the ability of Foucault's theory to combine an analysis of "statements and institutions" (May & Powell, 2007:126). In the development of his methodology from archaeological to genealogical Foucault emphasised the fact that knowledge is not separate from practice, but knowledge is a "practice that constitutes particular objects -- non-theoretical elements -- that are part of the practice itself" (*ibid*.:129). (Referring to Foucault), May & Powell [2007:127] state that while archaeology provides "a snapshot, a "slice" through the discursive nexus, genealogy focuses on the processual aspects of the web of discourse (its ongoing character). This does not mean that Foucault denies the existence of agents, objects or institutions but that "knowledge and the subject of knowledge are fused as part of a relationship between knowledge and power that is socially constructed" (*ibid*.:129). May & Powell (2007:129) continue:

> Discourses thus encompass both the objective and subjective conditions of human relations…and these emerging forms of social regulation, characterized by notions of discipline, surveillance and normalization, are core to his [Foucault's] theoretical studies.

Callinicos (1989), who agrees that Foucault does not deny reality outside language/discourse, describes Foucault as poststructuralist and indicates that there are two related strands of thought in this tradition -- textualism and Foucauldian genealogy (p.69). In summarising the latter he states (*ibid*.):

> The difference between Foucauldian genealogy and textualism is brought out by Foucault's definition of the dispositive, or apparatus, constitutive of the social body as 'a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical moral and philanthropic propositions – in short, the said and the unsaid'. Textualism, however, denies us the possibility of ever escaping the discursive.

In other words, Bourdieu was wrong to categorise Foucault with the textualism strand of poststructuralism.

Callewaert (2006:79) argues that although Bourdieu is right to point out some essential differences between him and Foucault, he is "wrong by omission if this analysis is thought to account for all aspects of Foucault's position". Although Callewaert (2006) seems to share with Bourdieu a dim view of radical relativism, he agrees with Macey (2004) that Foucault has been misread and wrongly appropriated in this regard. Callewaert (2006:91) especially emphasises the point that Foucault did not claim that "dominant discourses, procedures and technologies...are steering real courses of action". He continues (*ibid.*):

> He is not saying that they will materialize in the real social world or that action is guided by these discourses. What he is saying is that discourses are influenced by the power constellations they arise from, in their form, content and efficiency; that discourses are already by themselves some sort of practical intervention, and, finally, that discourses accompany the observable real course of action, rather than that they cause social action.

In other words, Callewaert (2006) maintains the distinction outlined above that Foucault dealt philosophically with discourse and Bourdieu sociologically with practice.

Callewaert continues his positive re-evaluation of Foucault by stating (2006:93) that "I must admit that the position of Foucault himself is very much more sophisticated than that of most of his followers". Callewaert (2006:93) summarises Foucault's position as follows:

> Foucault states that he is not working with the history of ideas,

> but with the history of thought. Which means for him that he is interested in the genealogy of modes of thinking, how it comes about that certain ways of thinking, practices, institutions, habits and so forth first are implemented by everybody without even knowing it, and in a next step become a problem and hence are thought of and expressed.

Callewaert (2006:93) refers to a statement by Foucault that his project from the beginning was to analyse the process of "problematization" -- defined as "how and why certain things (behaviour, phenomena, processes) became a problem" and then underlines the fact that Foucault never denied the reality of phenomena such as madness, crime or sexuality. Callewaert (2006:93) emphasises that "such thoughts do not come about at random or by accident", and although it is true that "they can only arise under certain external conditions... these conditions do not cause the rise of the problem, and they are not by themselves the sufficient, but only the necessary precondition". Most importantly: "somebody or some body must do the job" (*ibid*.). In other words, according to Callewaert (2006:93), Foucault states the possibility of analysing a "problematization neither as the effect of external causes, nor as the cause of behavior, but as just a way of putting a problem where there was no problem before, under certain conditions".

A close reading of Foucault (2002 [1970]) further indicates that Bourdieu's criticism of the former's alleged anti-scientific stance may have also been overstated. In the so-called bible of structuralism, *The order of things* [admittedly in the revised foreword for the English translation], Foucault states that he wants to "reveal a positive unconscious of knowledge: a level that eludes the consciousness of the scientist and yet is part of scientific discourse, instead of disputing its validity and seeking to diminish its scientific nature" (2002 [1970]: xi-xii). This is important here for two reasons. The first is that it would seem that Foucault does not deny the basis of scientific knowledge *per se*, as Bourdieu suggests. In seeking for a "positive unconsciousness of knowledge" or the "unsaid", Foucault moves closer to the idea of habitus/doxa on which Bourdieu builds most of his theory of agency in his effort to move beyond structuralism (see discussion above).

McNay (2008:12) argues that especially "in his later thought, Bourdieu chose to locate his key concepts within a phenomenological tradition and this corresponds to an increased emphasis in his late work on ideas of agency, change, discontinuity and resistance". It is these elements

of his thought related to habitus that are too often neglected by his critics, according to McNay (2008:12). I would argue that in addition to their structuralist heritage, the concepts of habitus/doxa and positive unconsciousness of knowledge brings Bourdieu and Foucault closer together.

In conclusion: The discussion above seems to suggest that the work of both Bourdieu and Foucault are perhaps too often and too easily cast in different categories. Even Bourdieu himself seems to have fallen into this trap, but to be fair his criticism of Foucault was arguably fuelled by a particular postmodern reception of Foucault's work. While one cannot ignore their different approaches, as philosopher and sociologist respectively, each can be described in general terms as a poststructuralist of a special kind -- in the main because both were seriously influenced by structuralism and consistently positioned themselves in relation to that paradigm -- even when they were rejection some of its premises and moved beyond it.

One could argue that both Bourdieu and Foucault position themselves against any mechanical effort to label and divide the field of knowledge in two clear and distinct parts. Foucault, when asked during an interview in 1983 whether he situated himself within the current context of postmodernity, responded somewhat confusedly (1990:34):

> I must say that I have trouble answering this. Firstly, because I've never clearly understood what was meant in France by the word 'modernity'…I do not know what Germans mean by modernity.…But neither do I grasp the kind of problems intended by this term -- or how they would be common to people thought of as being 'postmodern'. While I see clearly that behind what was known as structuralism, there was a certain problem -- broadly speaking, that of the subject and the recasting of the subject -- I do not understand what kind of problem is common to the people we call postmodern or poststructuralist.

According to May & Powell (2007:124), Foucault's refused particular characterization as a "designed socio-political strategy central to his overall philosophy". In short, Foucault rejected "universal understanding beyond history" (*ibid.*). In my view, Foucault would also regard any effort of the categorisation of the field of knowledge as intellectual will to power (see Foucault, 1990:35).

As the discussion above illustrated, Bourdieu would similarly argue that hegemonic consensus in the academic field is the result of a struggle over the right (symbolic power) to name and categorise aspects within that field.

Addendum B

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY

Participation Information Sheet (for verbal consent)

Manufacturing cultural capital: Arts journalism at* Die Burger *(1990–1999)

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by **G.J. Botma** (MPhil, BA Hons, BA), from the **Journalism Department at Stellenbosch University**. As part of my DPhil research, the results will contribute to my thesis. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you are or have been involved with and/or are knowledgeable about some aspects of the context or content of arts journalism at *Die Burger*.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study wants to describe the history and transformation of arts journalism at *Die Burger* over one decade (pre and post 1994) with special reference to the tension between supporting and opposing trends to apartheid which may have manifested *inter alia* in newspaper content during the period.

PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, I would ask you to do the following: Take part in semi-structured indepth interview(s) about the context and content of arts journalism at *Die Burger* and allow publication of accredited statements and information gathered in this way.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Because the interview(s) will focus on issues, events, and information in the public domain, you should experience no risks and discomfort. Participation is voluntary and may be terminated at any time, even if the process has already started. If, during the interview, you feel that an issue or topic is sensitive and "off the record", this must be clearly stated and will be respected by the researcher. Only information in the public domain (available to and obtainable by the general public) will be published in the research report. Do not participate if you want to raise confidential matters. A copy of transcribed statements for publication will be provided for consent.

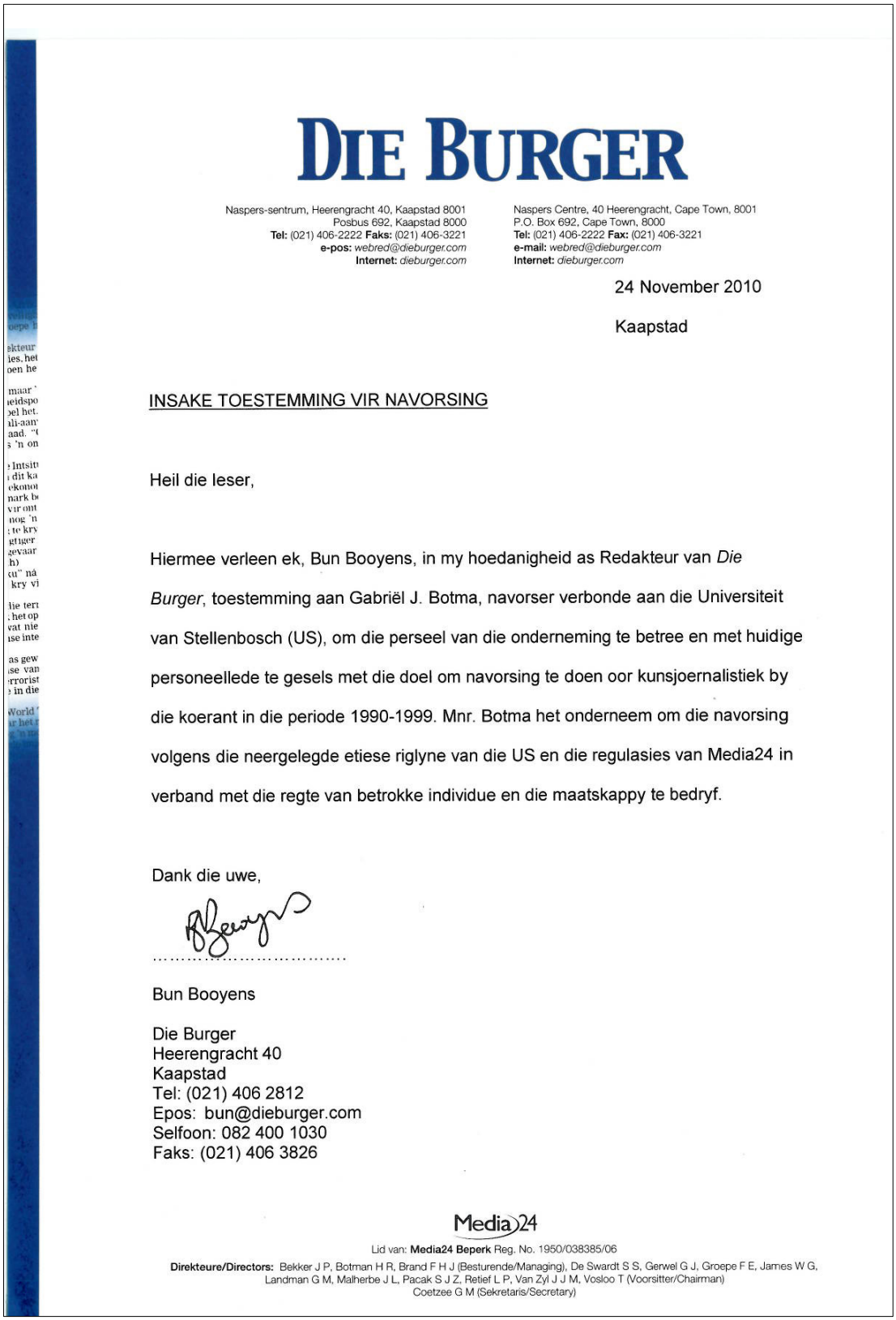
IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact the principle researcher, **Mr. Gabriel J. Botma**, Journalism Department, Stellenbosch University (phone: 021 808 9171 or 072 215 1201 and e-mail:gbotma@sun.ac.za) or **Prof. Lizette Rabe**, head of the Journalism Department, Stellenbosch University (phone: 021 808 3488 or e-mail: lrabe@sun.ac.za).

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact **Maryke Hunter-Hüsselmann**, Research Coordinator: Human and Social Sciences Coordination of committee-tasks related to research within SU, Admin B, Room B3207 (phone: 021 808 4623; fax: 021 808 4537; e-mail: mh3@sun.ac.za) at the Unit for Research Development.

Addendum C



DIE BURGER

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24 November 2010

Kaapstad

INSAKE TOESTEMMING VIR NAVORSING

Heil die leser,

Hiermee verleen ek, Bun Booyens, in my hoedanigheid as Redakteur van *Die Burger*, toestemming aan Gabriël J. Botma, navorser verbonde aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch (US), om die perseel van die onderneming te betree en met huidige personeellede te gesels met die doel om navorsing te doen oor kunsjoernalistiek by die koerant in die periode 1990-1999. Mnr. Botma het onderneem om die navorsing volgens die neergelegde etiese riglyne van die US en die regulasies van Media24 in verband met die regte van betrokke individue en die maatskappy te bedryf.

Dank die uwe,

.....

Bun Booyens

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Addendum D

List of interview questions: Arts journalism -- Die Burger *(1990-1999)*

- How did you land up in arts journalism?
- What training/background in the arts did you have at the beginning of your career?
- What was your career trajectory as an arts journalist?
- On the basis of what criteria did you as an arts journalist evaluate art and entertainment?
- Who were your mentors/role models in arts journalism?
- Did you as an arts journalist ever experience any political pressure from inside the newspaper/company? And from outside?
- Did you as an arts journalist ever experience any economic pressure from inside the newspaper/company? And from outside?
- Did arts journalism -- and the role of arts journalists -- change in the decade 1990-1990? If it did, how and why?
- Which individuals (inside and outside the newspaper) played a particularly important role in arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999)? Why do you say so?
- What is your view on the difference between high and popular art?
- What is/was your point of view in die Eurocentric/Afro centric debate of the 1990s?
- What is your view on the representation of African art and culture in *Die Burger* (1990-1999)?
- What is/was your view on the censorship of the arts in the 1990s?
- What is/was your view on the cultural boycott of the ANC in the 1990s?
- What is/was your view on the National Party in the 1990s?
- What is/was your view on communism in the 1990s?
- What is/was your view on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in the 1990s?
- What is/was your view on the deliberate promotion of Afrikaans in *Die Burger* (1990-1999)?
- What is/was your view on the promotion of Afrikaner culture in *Die Burger* (1990-1999)?
- What is/was your view on the inclusion of so-called coloured Afrikaans speakers in the Afrikaans cultural mainstream of the 1990s?

- What is/was your view on the promotion of Naspers interests in *Die Burger* (1990-1999)?
- What is the role of the arts in society?
- What is the role of arts journalism in society?
- What is your view on protest art?
- Must arts journalism target an informed elite corps of readers or general readers?
- Did arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) contribute to reconciliation in society?
- Did arts journalism at *Die Burger* (1990-1999) contribute to the education/enrichment of readers?
- What criteria/factors influenced the selection of arts and culture coverage to the front page of *Die Burger* (1990-1999)?
- What criteria/factors determined that arts and culture was chosen as a topic for official cartoons in *Die Burger* (1990-1999)?
- What criteria/factors influenced the selection and presentation of content on the arts page of *Die Burger* (1990-1999)?

Endnotes

[i] Wasserman, also the supervisor of this study, joined the academy after leaving *Die Burger*. Van Bosch has also left *Die Burger* since then to become a full-time artist and freelance arts writer. Their recollections and views on these and other incidents at *Die Burger* are presented in Chapter 6.

[ii] Habitus is closely related to another theoretical effort to bridge the gap between structure and agency -- Anthony Giddens's theory of structuration. Like Bourdieu, Giddens aims to accommodate "what has traditionally been interpreted as polar opposites" (Laughey, 2007:96). In describing the similarity between the two scholars in this regard, Scott (2007b:89) in fact proclaims that "much confusion would have been avoided if Giddens had used the word habitus, rather than the word structure".

[iii] It is important to remember that Bourdieu views "class" as a theoretical construct with political implications and not as a "real" phenomenon -- see Weininger (2008).

[iv] According to Lane (2000:32), Bourdieu contributed to a critical reception of his work by arguing in *Distinction* (1984) that the "immediacy of their material needs" rendered the French working class "incapable of the disinterested distance necessary for aesthetic contemplation". Lane (2000:32-33) views this statement in the context of Bourdieu's early work, in which his reliance on a series of "rather stark dichotomies between tradition and modernity, immediacy and mediation, presence and representation" led him "into a form of economism". According to Lane (2000:51), Bourdieu argued that although the working class was unable to challenge the dynamic of social distinction, they were fully aware of its existence. Weininger (2008:97) picks up on this point in stating: "in Bourdieu's view, the working class's incapacity to participate in the race to claim those forms of culture whose legitimacy its members nonetheless acknowledge (at least implicitly), is so severe that they may be said to be 'imbued with a sense of their cultural unworthiness'". Weininger (2008:96) explains this statement by arguing that Bourdieu's social space can be termed a "field of social classes in which lifestyles are caught up in social struggles and the hierarchical 'status' of a lifestyle is a function of its proximity to or distance from the 'legitimate culture'. The latter refers to "those elements of culture universally recognized as 'worthy', 'canonical', or in some other way 'distinguished'. As such, the composition of the legitimate culture is permanently in play: it is the object of a perpetual struggle" (*ibid*.).

[v] As a result of these sentiments, critics often consider Bourdieu's theories elitist and prejudiced against popular culture (see Prior, 2005:135) This view has strengthened his routine exclusion from a postmodern paradigm (but not the inclusion of aspects of his work into cultural studies, in which popular cultural is predominantly viewed as an instrument of counter-hegemonic struggles).

[vi] According to Demetz (1962), Brecht's "dramatic genius" (p.7) stands apart from his "theoretical efforts" in which "Brecht is like an eagle whose eyes triumphantly and sharply view the future of the arts – but the eagle's feet drag the rusty chains of Marxist iron and lead" (p.8). Nevertheless, this study recognises in Brecht's call for political and social "engagement" from artists and audiences a counter-point to the "art-for-art sake" position of some arts journalists.

[vii] Karakayali (2004:360) indicates that Bourdieu's work is not necessarily "conservative", but that it lacks a "vision". He quotes Bourdieu in saying that "to change the world" one must change "the vision of the world and the practical operations by which groups are produced and reproduced" and that "symbolic power is the power of imposing a certain vision of the world upon the world". (*ibid*.) Karakayali (2004:360) continues: "Seen from this perspective social theory itself appears as a domain of struggle for 'symbolic power', since it involves different visions of society...The problem is that although Bourdieu recognizes the potential of theory to go beyond the given, in his own sociology, he denies such a role to theory."

viii The following discussion is partly based on Said (1994) was first presented in the journal article "Going back to the crossroads: Visions of a democratic media future at the dawn of the new South Africa", *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies* 32(2): 75-89.

[ix] Any effort to move beyond post-colonial theory into an essentialist indigenous, traditional African theory of culture for the purposes of a theoretical framework for this study would arguably then fall into the same trap.

[x] According to Said (1994:8) imperialism is "the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory", while colonialism, "which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlements on distant territory".

xi The PhD dissertation of Diederichs (2007) at Tshwane University of Technology, "Nismark vir die Afrikaanse koerant in 'n meertalige samelewing" (Niche market for the Afrikaans newspaper in a multilingual environment), is not relevant to this study because it does not refer to arts journalism. In considering the uncertain future of Afrikaans newspaper, Diederichs (2007) displays a media management perspective "in which the importance of target group variables and interaction between product and consumer are highlighted according to the gratification model" (p. ii).

[xii] See Bernstein (1991) for a more nuanced and sympathetic reading of the position of the Frankfurt School, and especially Adorno, on culture.

[xiii] This discussion is based on the argument presented in Botma (2008b:51-65).

[xiv] During an interview in 2010, Le Roux told this researcher that his impression was that members of the arts desk were very much left to their own devices in reporting and commenting on the arts and that he was not aware of official pressure from the editor at the time, Wiets Beukes, to toe the official NP line.

[xv] Newspaper texts from *Die Burger* were translated from Afrikaans by the researcher in this and all other instances in this study.

[xvi] Seemingly in contrast to the increasingly hostile treatment of Tutu in *Die Burger*, a few clear examples of neutral and positive framing exist as well (see DB, 1996/06/08:11).

[xvii] A noticeable counter-voice in the discourse around the role of Afrikaners in history in *Die Burger* was that of the Afrikaans writer Klaas Steytler. He wrote a lengthy letter that was published prominently in the letters column of the newspaper in which he expressed the view that Afrikaners shared "collective guilt" because of apartheid (see DB, 1990/11/29:18 -- "G'n twyfel oor Afrikaners se kollektiewe skuld" [No doubt about the collective guilt of Afrikaners]). Interestingly, this view of Steytler seemed to have been left unchallenged at the time of publication. During the latter part of the decade, when the TRC was investigating apartheid atrocities, Dommisse was vehemently opposed to the notion of collective guilt for Afrikaners.

[xviii] The writer and supervisor of this dissertation were both members of the arts desk at the time and signed the letter of apology to the TRC. The third member was the fine arts specialist Cobus van Bosch.

[xix] Earlier (DB, 1991/12/05:18) the newspaper justified its decision to publish a front-page colour photo of a jovial Roelf Meyer of the NP shaking hands with a smiling Slovo of the SACP during a Codesa meeting (DB, 1991/11/30:1). Some readers reportedly objected and expressed fear for a new dispensation in which communists would feature prominently (DB, 1991/12/05:18). The newspaper argued in defence that more "perspective" was needed (*ibid*.). According to the editorial, the SACP was "a small group fighting for survival after the demise of international communism" and that their "ideology had failed the test of practical implementation" (*ibid*.). Besides, *Die Burger* argued, the "most important parties to the negotiations had agreed that religious freedom would be guaranteed in a new dispensation, just as it was now also the case in even the Soviet-Union itself" (*ibid.*). Thus the anti-communism discourse was further strengthened by references to religion, which would be likely to resonate with the sentiments of the paper's readers who have traditionally been adherents to either Christianity or Islam (a verse from the Bible and the Qu'ran is published daily in *Die Burger*). *Die Burger* reported before the 1994 elections on a speech by a senior NP minister who declared that Nelson Mandela was "dishonest about his Christianity" because of the political alliance between the ANC and the SACP (DB, 1993/09/20:1). Not long after the elections, however, the newspaper reported on a seemingly reconciliatory note that Pres Mandela attended a NG church service at the Groote Kerk in Cape Town (DB, 1994/05/23:1). Traditionally, many powerful Afrikaners belonged to the racially segretated NG church while the Groote Kerk was home to the oldest congregation in South Africa.

[xx] M-Net, an affiliate of Naspers, for instance offered members of parliament complimentary services from their pay-television division (see DB, 1996/07/02:2).

[xxi] Early hegemonic struggles in *Die Burger* around the so-called Africanisation of culture involved one of the oldest elite Afrikaans-language schools in Cape Town, coincidently also named after Van Riebeeck, the Dutch "founder" of Cape Town in 1652. A "political" speech about cultural transformation in the "new" South Africa at the school reportedly caused an outcry (DB, 1991/04/27:3). According to the report, the director of the South African National Arts Gallery in Cape Town, Marilyn Martin, addressed pupils at the beginning of the school's cultural week. She criticised the NP government for its "systematic policy of discrimination" that led to "the majority of the population being deprived of a good education" (*ibid*.). Martin reportedly asked the pupils to work towards the removal of "hindrances on the road to cultural unity", such as

"apartheid" and "Eurocentrism" (*ibid*.). According to the report, the head of the school's governing body complained afterwards that Martin had "politised her speech about culture", which led to an address by the principal in which he informed the pupils that individual speakers do not necessarily reflect the views of the governing body or school (*ibid*.). In a subsequent letter to the newspaper (DB, 1991/05/04: 12), Martin corrected a "wrong impression" that might have been created by the report. She stated that her speech dealt with the removal of "apartheid-structures around education and culture" and not about apartheid (*ibid*.). A few days later the newspaper also published an op-ed article by Martin in which she dealt with the issue of cultural transformation at length (DB, 1991/05/10: 13 -- "Suid-Afrika moet besin oor kulturele prioriteite" [South Africa must rethink its cultural priorities]). But although *Die Burger* was seemingly thus prepared to give Martin the opportunity to state her case and possibly convince others of her views, at least one reader remained hostile. In a letter to the editor under the *nom de plume* Oujongkêrel ("Bachelor"), the reader announced that the National Arts Gallery would no longer inherit his art collection because of Martin's "political" comments (see DB, 1991/05/11: 12). According to the letter, the reader feared that his art works would be "handed back to the people" (*ibid*.).

[xxii] It is also probable that the close relationship between Rupert and the editor of *Die Burger* influenced decidedly critical coverage in the newspaper of strict anti-tobacco legislation that was introduced in the 1990s (see DB, 1998/08/04:12). After his retirement as editor of *Die Burger*, Dommisse wrote an authorised biography of Rupert (Dommisse, 2005).

[xxiii] *Die Burger* started 1990 with a front page news report that the renowned Afrikaans writer Etienne Leroux had died just before the New Year (DB, 1990/01/03:1 -- Dood van Leroux 'slag vir letterkunde'; [Death of Leroux 'blow for literature']). Interestingly enough, Leroux was a divisive and controversial figure in mainstream Afrikaner circles because of the banning of his book *Magersfontein o Magersfontein* in terms of censorship regulations against obscenity during the heyday of apartheid in the 1970s. Although Leroux's book was unbanned in 1980s, the rest of the decade saw increased cultural/political censorship as part of two states of emergency in P.W. Botha's term. After his death, Leroux was hailed by *Die Burger* as a visionary who had challenged Afrikaner narrow mindedness and produced works of an international standard (see DB, 1990/01/03:10).

[xxiv] To be fair to *Die Burger*, the fact that the NP was using and abusing culture for decades to achieve its aims was also mentioned more clearly and directly in, for example, a news report (DB/1991/09/27:2 -- NP gebruik sélf al jare kultuur vir gewin -- ANC [For years NP used culture for own gain]). The report summarised a press release in which the ANC responded to criticism of its policy of culture by the NP (which was similar to that often expressed by *Die Burger*). Thus, although *Die Burger* allowed an oppositional voice into the discourse as part of its news reporting, its own stance, as expressed in the editorial (DB, 1991/05/16:12) discussed above, remained overwhelming hostile to the ANC and supportive of the NP's view.

[xxv] Still, it can be noted that the cultural positioning of the ANC at the beginning of the decade was often unclear, ambiguous, and contradictory (see DB, 1990/07/06:5 – "ANC teen alle sensuur [ANC against all censorship]). In keeping with the general departure points of this study, the strategy of the ANC can be attributed to extended efforts after 1990 to use arts and culture as a tool in the struggle for democracy. The ANC seemingly adopted a stick-and-carrot approach during the negotiation phase up to 1994. On the one hand it used its international and local support base to try and sustain the cultural boycott in order to pressure the NP and the white population to concede to its demands. On the other hand the ANC gradually also promised and allowed some international cultural and sports contact to try and convince its opponents of the benefits of a new dispensation (see Strelitz & Steenveld, 1998). The ANC could have argued that it had to maintain the correct balance in order to reap the benefits of this complex cultural positioning.

[xxvi] Die Burger supported similar sentiments. According to the newspaper education was "a very sensitive issue", but it was still supportive of the gradual opening of white schools to coloured and black pupils (see DB, 1991/01/23:12). *Die Burger* considered that racial integration could strengthen the dwindling numbers of Afrikaans pupils in some schools but noted with concern that English schools were apparently keener to allow black and coloured pupils than Afrikaans schools.

[xxvii] Unfortunately Keyser did not act on his agreement to participate as interview respondent to this study (see Chapter 4).

[xxviii] Grütter, then books editor, also commented on the language debate in the column "Voetnoot" on the arts and culture page (DB, 1994/01/06:4 -- "Taalbevordering hoef nie aggressief te wees nie" [Language promoting needs not be aggressive]). As the title above suggests, Grütter argued that "an attitude of sharing, instead of making demands about so-called rights, would probably be a more fruitful option for Afrikaans" (*ibid*.).

[xxix] In the first instance the move can be viewed as an early indication that corporate South Africa was ready to distance their economic capital from Afrikaner culture the moment it would lose its link to political and symbolic power.

[xxx] In fact, when the next list of finalists were announced, *Die Burger* reported that very few Afrikaans productions or theatre workers had been nominated (see DB, 1990/07/19:8 – Afrikaans lyk teen die planke in Transvaal [Afrikaans seems to be knocked down/on the floor in Transvaal]).

[xxxi] A good illustration of this view can be found in *Die Burger* in an arts review by a freelancer, E.S. van Bart (see DB, 1993/05/08:8 -- "Trots in die eie voed die gemeenskaplikheid" [Pride in your own feeds the universal]). In her discussion of the exhibition by artists from Venda -- an apartheid-era Bantustan -- Van Bart is at pains to distance herself from apartheid ideology and paternalism towards the artists. Still, the review adheres in many respects to the stereotypical Western description of African art that Van Bosch referred to here.

[xxxii] Despite the extensive publicity in all the major Afrikaans newspaper of Naspers, the fund raising efforts yielded "disappointing" results, according to Vosloo (2010).

[xxxiii] Seemingly unaware of the irony, Joubert commented that the movie "was not an attempt to cash in on the [popular] indigenous musical *Ipi Tombi*". Bertha Egnos, who first produced the musical, was in fact frequently castigated for alleged cultural appropriation and colonial exploitation while the production itself was often dismissed by critics as African curio for a Western/European market. Joubert commented that the music of Egnos did not feature prominently in the movie and that the "energetic, pulsing African rhythms" were "more exciting and impressive on stage" (*ibid*.).

[xxxiv] Afrikaans interview quotations were translated by the researcher in this and all other instances in this study.

[xxxv] The trade union confederation which formed the third leg of the ruling alliance.

[xxxvi] M-Net frequently used promotional slogans such as "We won't stop die magic" and "Where the magic lives".

[xxxvii]The editorial -- in a rather roundabout fashion -- criticised Prime Minister H.F. Verwoerd for his attack on renowned Afrikaans intellectual and writer N.P van Wyk Louw (Beukes & Steyn, 1992:267). Verwoerd was unhappy with Louw's drama *Die pluimsaad waai ver,* which he read as criticism of the Afrikaner (ibid.).

[xxxviii] This principle did not apply to board members of Naspers affiliates, such as Media24.

[xxxix] In fact, quite a number of arts journalists -- including Breytenbach, Botha, Le Roux, Van den Berg, Joubert, and Wasserman -- published volumes of Afrikaans short stories, either while still at *Die Burger* or after they had left (see for example DB, 1990/05/19:6 -- "Zirk van den Berg -- die boek as kondoom").

[xl] Controversial anti-establishment Afrikaans music and music theatre events in the 1980s.

[xli] Where a group of Afrikaans writers met with the ANC and supported the cultural boycott. Le Roux went along to cover the event for *Die Burger.*